

Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England

Mechthild Gretsch



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MECHTHILD GRETSCH



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UNIVERSITY PRESS**

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore, São Paulo

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 2RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521855419

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First published 2005

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

Gretsch, Mechthild.

Ælfric, and the cult of saints in late Anglo-Saxon England / Mechthild Gretsch.

p. cm. – (Cambridge studies in Anglo-Saxon England; 34)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN-13: 978-0-521-85541-9

ISBN-10: 0-521-85541-1 (hardback)

1. Ælfric, Abbot of Eynsham. 2. Christian hagiography – History – To 1500.
3. Christian saints – Cult – England – History – To 1500. I. Title. II. Series.

BX4659.G7G74 2005

235'.2'094209021 – dc22 2005012510

ISBN-13 978-0-521-85541-9 hardback

ISBN-10 0-521-85541-1 hardback

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 Cambridge University Press

Cambridge, New York, Oakleigh, Madrid, Cape
Town

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Information on this title:

www.cambridge.org/051144902X

appropriate. Published in the United States of
America by Cambridge University Press, New
York

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Preface

This book does not claim to be a comprehensive monograph on IElfric's hagiographic writings. Indeed, the idea to write a book on the subject only occurred to me after I had finished what are now its first two chapters, which were commissioned for specific purposes and which are included here in a revised and updated form. When I was invited to contribute to a Festschrift for Don Scragg, my immediate reaction was that a piece dealing with saints might be appropriately presented to a scholar who had devoted a considerable amount of his working life to saints' uitaes and homilies. In the course of my previous work on the intellectual foundations of the English Benedictine reform I had become convinced that the most lavish book which was produced during iElfric's lifetime, the Benedictional of his master JEthelwold, had interacted with various kinds of contemporary intellectual activities such as defining the essence of kingship or translating Christian key terms into the vernacular. I therefore proposed to explore possible relationships between the texts and the iconography of the Benedictional and the formation of IElfric's sanctorale, that is, his selection of the saints to be represented in his three great cycles of Catholic Homilies and Lives of Saints. As a result, the present chapter 1 took shape, in which a possible influence of the Benedictional is reviewed in the context of other factors which may have contributed to the formation of IElfric's sanctorale. I had scarcely finished this article, when I was asked by Don Scragg to contribute to a small volume devoted to JElfric's Lives of saintly popes. Since my pope was to be Gregory the Great, who could have said 'no'? Gregory was one of the saints who featured prominently in the Benedictional and whose representation there may well have influenced JElfric. But, most importantly, Gregory was the 'apostle of the English'. It was an invigorating exercise to assemble the manifestations of the veneration in which he was held in Anglo-Saxon England and with which YIElfric, certainly or arguably, was familiar, and to examine against this foil the way YElfric chose to relate the Life of this important saint to a lay audience. While writing this article, it gradually dawned on me that 'Elfric's Lives of the other four of the five saints who occurred in important groupings in the iconography of the Benedictional might reward an approach similar to the one I had employed in my analysis of Gregory's uita. For each of the three saints from the Catholic Homilies (Cuthbert and Benedict, in addition to Gregory) and for each of the two saints from the Lives of Saints (Swithun and IEthelthryth) I

would reconstruct as far as possible the historical, liturgical and literary state of their cults by the time Ælfric composed their *uitae*. At the same time I would attempt to recover what knowledge Ælfric may be presumed to have had of the development of the respective cults and of their literary manifestations. In a second step I would then relate the combined historical evidence to Ælfric's *Lives* and examine in what ways this evidence was reflected in the *uitae*. At this stage the idea of the present book took shape.

Two further points were also clear to me at this stage. First, my overall approach to the five *Lives* would be identical: tracing a saint's cult and exploring how it impinged on Ælfric's hagiography. However, in its application to the five *Lives*, in each case my approach would obviously have to accommodate the specific conditions pertinent to a cult so that Ælfric's perception of five important Anglo-Saxon cults could be reconstructed in an adequate fashion from the surviving evidence. The implication of this concept was that I would not embark on a quest for 'Ælfric's ideal of sanctity' or 'Ælfric's perception of a saint's role in medieval society'. Secondly, this would also be a book about Ælfric's style and narrative modes (if not about his use of the 'Winchester vocabulary'), and about his intellectual training and the way this training is reflected in the five *Lives*. In other words, this book aims to illustrate what the study of language and literature has to gain from a close collaboration with other historical disciplines: Ælfric's linguistic and literary achievement - in the five *Lives*, as elsewhere in his works - can be comprehensively understood only when set in its overall historical context.

The result of these initial coincidences and ensuing deliberations are the following five monographs *en miniature* on saints who were assigned important roles in the iconography (and, for the most part, also in the texts) of the *Benedictional* and in Ælfric's *sanctorale*.

It is with deep gratitude that I record here the help which I received in the production of this book. Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge have been patient, meticulous, critical and inspiring readers of the individual chapters as they saw light. Once again, the twenty-one volumes of dossiers on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, compiled by Helmut Gneuss in the course of his work on the *Handlist*, proved invaluable. (It is much to be hoped that the vast bibliography on manuscripts, which is contained in these dossiers, will be available in print some day.) Michael Lapidge generously let me have, before publication, the parts of his monumental *The Cult of St Swithun* which are relevant to my *Swithun* chapter, and without which my chapter could not have

been written in its present form. Simon Keynes, also with characteristic generosity, let me have, before publication, his masterly article on Ely Abbey, which was immensely helpful in placing 'lfric's .tEthelthryth in her context. Christy Hosefelder word-processed the entire book with circumspection, and Carolin Schreiber and Janna Riedinger were its highly competent first proof-readers. Finally, I would like to thank Simon Keynes and Andy Orchard for finding the book a place in the Cambridge series, and Clare Orchard for carefully copyediting the typescript.

I hope this book will, in a modest way, help to focus our increasingly clear picture of the highpoint of Anglo-Saxon culture around the first millennium and on the eve of its destruction.

Abbreviations

ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina</i> , ed. Bollandists, 2 vols. (Brussels 1899–1901, with supplements 1911 and (by H. Fros) 1986)
CBP	<i>Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium</i> , ed. E. Moeller, 4 vols., CCSL 162, 162 A–C (Turnhout, 1971–9)
CCCM	Corpus Christinorum Continuatio Mediaevalis (Turnhout)
CCSL	Corpus Christianorum Series Latina (Turnhout)
CH I	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series</i> , ed. Clemoes
CH II	<i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series</i> , ed. Godden
CH, <i>Commentary</i>	M. Godden, <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Introduction, Commentary and Glossary</i>
CSASE	Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
DOE	<i>Dictionary of Old English</i> , ed. Cameron <i>et al.</i>
EEM	'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' (the Preface to the Old English Rule), ptd and trans. Whitelock, in <i>Councils & Synods</i> , ed. Whitelock <i>et al.</i> , I.1, pp. 142–54 (no. 33)
EEMF	Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
EETS	Early English Text Society (London)
—OS	Original Series
—SS	Supplementary Series
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society Publications (London)
HE	Bede's <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>

<i>HSC</i>	<i>Historia de Sancto Cuthberto</i> , ed. Johnson South
<i>LS</i>	<i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints</i> , ed. Skeat
<i>MGH</i>	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
—AA	Auctores antiquissimi
<i>PL</i>	Patrologia Latina, ed. J. P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844–64)
<i>RSB</i>	<i>Regula S. Benedicti</i>
<i>S</i>	P. H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters</i>
<i>SK</i>	D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, <i>Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum</i> (Göttingen, 1977)
<i>VCA</i>	anonymous prose <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> , ed. Colgrave
<i>VCM</i>	Bede's metrical <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> , ed. Jaager
<i>VCP</i>	Bede's prose <i>Vita S. Cuthberti</i> , ed. Colgrave
<i>Wulfstan: Life</i>	<i>Wulfstan of Winchester: the Life of St Æthelwold</i> , ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom

Ælfric's sanctorale and the Benedictional of Æthelwold

The first book ever to be printed in Old English was Ælfric's Easter homily, edited by Archbishop Matthew Parker and his circle, and Ælfric played a paramount role in the formative period of Anglo-Saxon studies from the late sixteenth to the early eighteenth century.¹ It was through his Latin Grammar written in Old English and the Latin paradigms provided with English translations that the early 'antiquaries' gained a first glimpse of the grammatical structure of Old English, and, above all, it was through his vast corpus of homilies and saints' Lives that scholars such as Matthew Parker, William L'Isle, George Hickes and Elizabeth Elstob sought to demonstrate that the Church of England had its venerable roots in pre-Conquest times. Scholarly interest in Ælfric has not abated since the days of these pioneers, and consequently Ælfric is one of the best researched authors in Old English literature.² Surprisingly, perhaps, in spite of this wealth of secondary literature, there remain aspects of his oeuvre on which so far scarcely any work has been done. In a recent article Michael Lapidge has pointed out one such aspect when he suggested that the structure of Ælfric's sanctorale and the principles according to which Ælfric selected the saints and feasts for commemoration in his homilies and Lives would deserve close attention.³ As Lapidge pointed out, there are obvious peculiarities with regard to the saints and feasts chosen by Ælfric for commemoration in his sanctorale, when, for example, he commemorates the deposition of St Swithun (2 July), not the feast of the translatio (15 July), or when, as a Benedictine monk, he celebrates only one of the two feasts of St Benedict (again the less important depositio), or when, though Winchester-trained, he seems to depart from Winchester's liturgical practice in commemorating the feast of Quadraginta milites (9 March), while omitting from his sanctorale all the Northern French and Flemish saints such as SS Vedastus, Iudoc or Bertin, who were especially culted at Winchester.⁴

[An earlier version of this chapter was published as M. Gretsche, 'Ælfric's Sanctorale and the Benedictional of Æthelwold', in *Early Medieval English. Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to*

No doubt IElfric had an intimate knowledge of the full range of saints included in liturgical calendars or the martyrology, but it is equally clear that only a limited number of those saints could be honoured by providing their *uitae* in the vernacular. As is confirmed by their respective prefaces, the two sets of the Catholic Homilies, containing forty pieces each, preserve fairly accurately IElfric's original compilation,⁵ and the Lives of Saints, though preserved less intact, probably also closely approximated forty in YIElfric's original scheme for the collection.⁶ Within the three collections, in the Catholic Homilies the items pertaining to the *sanctorale* occur side by side with those for the *temporale*, and in the Lives of Saints they are mixed with homilies treating incidents from the Old Testament.⁷ This leaves us with a total of fifty-four feasts of the *sanctorale*, nineteen occurring in the first series of the Catholic Homilies, sixteen in the second series and twentynine in the Lives of Saints.⁸ By comparison, the four Winchester calendars printed by Francis Wormald commemorate some 209 (nos. 9 and 10), 213 (no. 11) and 226 (no. 12) feasts respectively.⁹ IElfric's awareness of having to pick for inclusion in his three collections of homilies and *uitae* a relatively small selection from the feasts of the *sanctorale* (but also from those of the *temporale*) emerges clearly from his prefaces to these collections: in the English preface to the Lives of Saints he remarks with regard to the saints of the *sanctorale* that God has so many saints for his service that it is impossible to commemorate them all.¹⁰ Similarly, concerning the feasts of the *temporale*, IElfric explains that in his two sets of Catholic Homilies he has not expounded all the gospel pericopes read in the course of a year but only a selection of these, which should be sufficient for edifying and rectifying the souls of the simple-minded." Although he does not say so explicitly, we may be certain that the principle which governed IElfric's choice of the *temporale* items - the moral and spiritual improvement of the laity - may also be sought behind the selection of saints for his *sanctorale*. The one statement we get from IElfric with regard to the presence of a particular saint in one of the three collections is that the Catholic Homilies commemorate those *saints culted by the laity nationwide*, whereas the Lives of Saints contain *uitae of saints commemorated in monasteries only*.² But this broad distinction does not give a rationale for inclusion of one saint and omission of another in cases where both would qualify for treatment in one of the three collections. Is it possible to get somewhat nearer to the rationale of IElfric's selection?

400 titles which have accumulated during the intervening twelve years. For an introduction to Elfric's works and historical background, see now the excellent brief monograph (with useful bibliography) by H. Gneuss, *zElfric von Eynsham and seine Zeit*.

It has been pointed out that a political and ethical motivation occasionally seems to have determined /Elfric's choice, especially with regard to the *uitae* and Old Testament pieces in the *Lives of Saints*, and that he decided to include pieces such as *The Forty Soldiers* (no. ix), *The Prayer of Moses* (no. xiii), *Kings* (no. xviii), *Achitophel and Absalom* (no. xix), *Maccabees* (no. xxv), *St Maurice and his Companions* (no. xxviii) and *St Martin* (no. xxxi) because of the parallels to contemporary political conditions which they provided, and because of their potential for serving as a vehicle for the political and ethical instruction of a lay audience.¹³ In the case of the *Forty Soldiers of Sebaste in Armenia* (*Quadraginta milites*) such parallels and potential may also serve as an explanation why, in commemorating them, IElfric departs radically from Winchester's liturgical practice, as we have seen. The *Forty Soldiers* provide an excellent example of collective resistance towards a cruel and arrogant enemy. By the same token, JElfric's penchant for this type of narrative may help to explain why he omitted from his *sanctorale* saints that were widely venerated in late Anglo-Saxon England and/or Winchester such as SS *Vedastus*, *Amandus*, *Audoenus*, *Bertinus*, *Audomarus*, *Iudoc* and *Grimbald*,¹⁴ all of whom led exemplary lives as bishops or monks but could not serve as models for heroic resistance, and why he included instead two saints from *Francia* who fitted this pattern: *St Maurice and the Theban Legion*, and *St Dionysius and his Companions*.¹⁵ Another determining factor for IElfric's selection of his saints may have been a wish to comply with the predilections of his patrons. In the case of one saint, *St Thomas*, we have clear proof of such compliance. Towards the end of the *Second Series of the Catholic Homilies* 'Elfric has a note saying that he has not written a *Life of St Thomas* for two reasons: because a translation of his *passio* into Old English verse has been in existence for a long time, and because *St Augustine* rejected as incredible (*ungeleaflic*) a certain episode in the *passio*.¹⁶ z'Elfric includes, however, a *Life of St Thomas* in his *Lives of Saints* collection (no. xxxvi). Interestingly, this is provided with a brief Latin introduction, where JElfric reiterates *St Augustine's* (and his own) doubts about that specific episode but concludes that he will translate the *passio* of *St Thomas* nevertheless, since the venerable *Ealdorman IEthelweard* urgently requested him to do so. ¹⁷ IEthelweard, *ealdorman of the*

western provinces (975-c. 998), who together with his son JEthelmr commissioned the Lives of Saints,¹⁸ may quite possibly also have influenced JElfric's choice of feasts for the Catholic Homilies. In any case, he seems to have obtained a special edition of the First Series which contained fortyfour pieces instead of the usual forty.¹⁹ With these examples in mind, one might ask what influence may have made YElfric relent and provide a homily for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (8 September) after he had expressly declined to do so on grounds of the dubious and difficult nature of the source material.²⁰ Was it again some sort of pressure from one or several of his patrons or was it in deference to the important role which the cult of the Virgin played in reformed monastic circles, and especially in IEthelwoldian Winchester, or was it a combination of both?²¹ Or, to give a last example: by what influence was St Vincent admitted to JElfric's sanctorale? From the manuscript transmission of this passio it is not clear whether 2Elfric intended it to be included in his Lives of Saints,²² or whether it was a piece written by him on commission for some monastery which possessed a relic of the saint and where, consequently, he was held in especial veneration. Glastonbury, the New Minster, Winchester, and especially Abingdon would be obvious candidates for such a commission.²³ In this case, St Vincent would not be part of /Elfric's sanctorale as it is defined in his prefaces to the Catholic Homilies and the Lives of Saints. But given the wide dissemination of his cult all over England and given the indubitable Winchester base for his cult, it cannot be ruled out that St Vincent either obtained his vernacular Life through the intervention of one of IElfric's lay patrons, or that his uita was composed by zElfric as an afterthought while he was recollecting his Winchester roots and the veneration in which the saint was held in two further important monastic centres, Glastonbury and Abingdon.

In addition to the factors I have touched on so far, there were no doubt other forces at work in the shaping of TElfric's sanctorale - literary and liturgical forces, for example. The so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary has been identified as one such shaping force of paramount importance, especially for the Lives of Saints. The Cotton-Corpus legendary is a collection of 165 saints' uitae and passiones written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, and now preserved as London, BL, Cotton Nero E. i and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9.²⁴ Although obviously the Cotton-Corpus manuscript itself cannot have been the manuscript which was consulted by i lfric, it has been shown that in many cases where a number of variant redactions of a saint's Life have survived it is the form as transmitted in Cotton-Corpus which is closest to /Elfric.²⁵ Furthermore, some

eccentricities in Ælfric's sanctorale can plausibly be explained at a stroke on the assumption that he had regular recourse to a predecessor of the Cotton-Corpus manuscript, as Michael Lapidge has shown. For example, Ælfric seems to have taken not only the text of the Vita S. Eugeniae from the Cotton-Corpus legendary but also the date against which she is commemorated. This date is peculiar indeed, inasmuch as it is 25 December, Christ's Nativity, and no Anglo-Saxon calendar has her feast against that date; in Winchester especially she does not seem to have been culted extensively, since none of the Winchester calendars commemorates her at all.²⁶ In what follows, I want to suggest a further literary and liturgical, but also art-historical, source which, in my view, influenced the structure of Ælfric's sanctorale: the famous Benedictional of JEthelwold (London, BL, Add. 49598), a lavishly produced manuscript made for Æthelwold's personal use as bishop of Winchester and very possibly for the occasion of King Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973.²⁷ There are some striking parallels, as I hope to show, between the commemoration of saints in Æthelwold's Benedictional and Ælfric's sanctorale, parallels which can plausibly and economically be explained on the assumption that the teacher's most valuable book, in the production of which he seems to have taken an active interest,²⁸ was a major shaping influence for the sanctorale which the pupil devised for the instruction and edification of a lay audience. We may begin by looking at some figures. Ælfric's sanctorale contains, as we have seen, fifty-four feasts; the Benedictional of JEthelwold has blessings for thirty-eight feasts of the sanctorale. Thirty-six of these thirty-eight feasts are provided with a homily by Ælfric. The two feasts which have blessings in the Benedictional but no homily by Ælfric are St Vedastus (6 February; JE 41, CBP 704)²⁹ and St Ambrose (4 April; IF 45, CBP 1254).³⁰ The parallels between the blessings in the Benedictional and the homilies in Ælfric's sanctorale are distributed over Ælfric's three collections as follows: twenty in Catholic Homilies I, nine in Catholic Homilies II (five of these are duplicates for feasts already commemorated in Catholic Homilies I), ten in Lives of Saints (two of these being duplicates), and two (St Vincent and the Nativity of the Virgin) are extra-cyclic pieces.³¹ It is noteworthy that the bulk of the parallels is found in Catholic Homilies I (recall that the Catholic Homilies commemorate saints and feasts established in the entire kingdom). Of the feasts commemorated by Ælfric but not in the Benedictional the following are in question: St Basilus (1 January), SS Julian and Basilissa (13 January), St Maurus (15 January), SS Quadraginta milites (9 March), St Cuthbert (20 March), St George (23 April), St Mark the Evangelist (25 March), SS Philip and James (1 May), St

Alban (22 June), St Apollinaris (23 July), St James (25 July), SS septem dormientes (27 July), SS Abdon and Sennen (30 July), SS Maccabees (1 August), St Oswald (5 August), St Mauricius (22 September), St Dionysius (9 October), SS Simon and Jude (28 October), St Edmund (20 November), SS Crisanthus and Darla (29 November), and St Eugenia (25 December).³² Several points emerge from these comparative statistics. It is obvious that there is a striking agreement in the saints commemorated in the Benedictional and IElfric's sanctorale. Such agreement is all the more striking when we consider that the Benedictional and IElfric commemorate a rather limited number of saints in comparison with (say) a liturgical calendar.³³ Four of the twenty-one feasts found in IElfric but not in the Benedictional (Quadragesima ntilites, SS Maccabees, St Mauritius and his companions and St Dionysius and his companions) are celebrated by *uitae* of the type favoured by IElfric, namely that of a group of associates offering stout collective resistance towards tyrants and persecution.³⁴ Four again of the twenty-one additions (SS Cuthbert, Alban, Oswald and Edmund) commemorate English or British saints. Two of the twenty-one commemorate a virgin couple suffering persecution and death (SS Julian and Basilissa, and Crisanthus and Darla). The choice of SS Julian and Basilissa is certainly an eccentric one. The pair is commemorated in three calendars only; their cult, therefore, cannot have been widespread. The date (13 January) against which IElfric placed their *uitae* is given in none of these calendars for their feast, and may have been taken from the Cotton-Corpus legendary;³⁵ in any case, the version in Cotton-Corpus seems to have provided the source for IElfric's Life.³⁶ The version closest to IElfric's Life of SS Crisanthus and Darla also seems to have been the one preserved in Cotton-Corpus.³⁷ The Lives of SS Crisanthus and Darla and Julian and Basilissa are also told in two longish and memorable episodes in successive chapters in Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate*.³⁸ One may ask, therefore, whether the inclusion of their Lives and IElfric's apparent penchant for this type of Life in general may owe something to his Winchester training, where Aldhelm will have been the most closely studied author in the curriculum.³⁹ Other saints commemorated by IElfric but without special blessings in the Benedictional include St Mark the Evangelist, the apostles SS Philip and James the Less, and St James, as well as St Benedict's (alleged) principal alumnus St Maur. In other words, the additional items in IElfric's sanctorale do not appear to have been included haphazardly: there is clearly an emphasis on saints celebrated throughout England and on types of saints' *uitae* for which IElfric seems to have had a predilection or which he may have

considered relevant to contemporary political conditions. In evaluating IElfric's additions to Ethelwold's Benedictional we also have to bear in mind that the Benedictional has a number of generalized blessings, applicable, for example, to the feast of 'One Apostle', 'One Martyr' or 'Many Confessors'.⁴⁰ It is at least conceivable, therefore, that some of the feasts which were provided with a Life by IElfric were already commemorated by such generalized blessings while IElfric was still under IEthelwold's tutelage.

The overall orthodoxy of IElfric's additions to the Benedictional is further revealed by the fact that most of them are represented with mass sets in eleventh-century English sacramentaries. We may take as a base for comparison three such mass books: the Winchcombe Sacramentary,⁴¹ the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumieges,⁴² and the New Minster Missal.⁴³ Here we find that with a very few exceptions IElfric's additional saints are provided with mass sets in at least two, but mostly all three of these mass books.⁴⁴ Interestingly, the exceptions are: SS Julian and Basilissa, SS Quadraginta milites and St Eugenia which are omitted from all three books. In the case of St Eugenia we have seen (above, p. 7) that IElfric's choice was influenced by his adherence to the Cotton-Corpus legendary, while for SS Julian and Basilissa and Quadraginta milites the negative evidence from the mass books confirms the suspicion that IElfric had a special predilection for these types of saints' vitae.

We have seen that, as opposed to the twenty-one feasts added by IElfric to the specific blessings of the Benedictional, there are only two saints celebrated by blessings in the Benedictional but omitted by IElfric: St Vedastus and St Ambrose. Why does IElfric, in the context of his considerable additions to the Benedictional's feasts, omit these saints? They were not obscure saints. Ambrose, together with Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, was one of the Doctors of the Church. Vedastus (with a cult originating at Saint-Vaast in Arras) belongs with the group of Frankish and Flemish saints who were widely venerated in late Anglo-Saxon England, with Winchester being a prominent centre of his cult, as is testified, for example, by a number of liturgical books from IEthelwold's Winchester and from the following decades.⁴⁵ Furthermore Alcuin's Life of St Vedastus was laid under contribution by IElfric's colleague Wulfstan of Winchester in the prologue to his Life of St IEthelwold.⁴⁶ And the Cotton-Corpus legendary, so important for IElfric's sanctorale, shows an especial veneration for St Vedastus by its inclusion of Alcuin's Vita S. Vedasti and his Homilia in die natali S. Vedasti.⁴⁷ There is no certain answer

to the question why JElfric should have omitted these two saints; there are, however, some clues. As to St Ambrose, it may be relevant to observe that, apart from St Gregory, he is the only Doctor of the Church who is assigned an especial blessing in the Benedictional. By keeping Gregory but omitting Ambrose JElfric may have intended to emphasize his inclusion of St Gregory. But equally, the explanation may be wholly technical: in April (St Ambrose would have been on 4 April), JElfric's sanctorale commemorates no saint before the 23rd (St George), no doubt because space was reserved for the important feasts of the teniporale connected with Easter. It may also be worth recording that the blessings for Ambrose in the Benedictional carry no individual traits but belong to the generalized type of blessings that were freely interchangeable between saints and feasts in later benedictionals. Thus, in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus (Paris, BNF, lat. 12052), a French manuscript of the tenth century which incorporates an English benedictional closely related to Ethelwold,⁴⁸ zEthelwold's blessings for St Ambrose were assigned to St Cuthbert and St Benedict respectively. ⁴⁹ Likewise, in the Canterbury Benedictional (London, BL, Harley 2892), compiled shortly after 1023 at Canterbury, eEthelwold's blessings for St Ambrose were assigned, as a second set of blessings, to St Benedict. ⁵⁰ Similarly, St Vedastus is given only a generalized set of blessings in YEthelwold's Benedictional, and this set recurs in the closely related Anderson Pontifical (London, BL, Add. 57337, s. x/xi, from Christ Church, Canterbury), as attached to St Cuthbert. ⁵¹ As to Mfric's omission of St Vedastus, we should also recall that JElfric commemorates none of the other northern French or Flemish saints who were celebrated in late Anglo-Saxon England, and we have to bear in mind that Vedastus is the only such saint commemorated in the Benedictional and that this may reflect an especial attachment of Bishop zEthelwold to the saint. We should consider further that Alcuin's Life of St Vedastus does not represent the genre of heroic saints' uitaes for which Mfric seems to have had a penchant; that, apart from a cult based principally at late-tenth- and eleventh-century Winchester, Vedastus has no connection with English history or church history; that 'Elfric could, on occasion, differ radically from Winchester's liturgical practice; and that his sanctorale was not compiled primarily with a Winchester monastic audience in mind.

We may now look briefly at some parallels between the iconography of the Benedictional and the representation of saints and feasts in JElfric's .sanctorale. To begin with, it is striking that all of the Benedictional's miniatures for saints and feasts of the sanctorale are

represented with narrative pieces in IElfric's cycles.⁵² The feast of Epiphany (6 January) is the only feast which is represented with two full-page miniatures in the Benedictional. Both miniatures are facing each other at one opening of the manuscript: fol. 24v contains a depiction of the Adoration of the Magi, and fol. 25r an illustration of the Baptism of Christ.⁵³ The illustrations refer to each other in their iconography, and this iconography is centrally important for a principal message of the Benedictional: the imperial and Christological conception of kingship, a conception which informed, for example, Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973, the occasion for which the Benedictional was arguably produced.⁵⁴ According to this conception Christ is 'king of kings', and the earthly king is seen as Christ's vicar on earth, *rex et sacerdos*. The iconography in both miniatures is strikingly innovative, especially with regard to the symbolism of crowns and other imperial insignia, but the importance and symbolism of baptism per se, not only its association with a king's coronation, is also stressed.⁵⁵ Originally, both forms of Christ's epiphaneia or 'manifestation', the Adoration of the Magi and his baptism, had been celebrated on 6 January, but by the tenth century, it was the feast of the Adoration of the Magi which was universally, and almost exclusively, celebrated by the western church.⁵⁶ The Benedictional, however, not only has, uniquely among its illustrations, two miniatures for a single feast, depicting its dual significance, but here Epiphany is provided also with two sets of blessings, the first commemorating the Adoration of the Magi, the second the Baptism.⁵⁷ This representation of Epiphany in the Benedictional has a close parallel in IElfric. Both series of the Catholic Homilies contain a homily on Epiphany. In the First Series the Adoration of the Magi is related and expounded⁵⁸ and the homily of the Second Series is devoted to an exposition of Christ's Baptism along the lines of the Benedictional, stressing the general symbolism of baptism.⁵⁹ Another striking parallel between the Benedictional and IElfric's sanctorale emerges when we look at the groupings of a number of important saints. The first of these groupings concerns SS Gregory (12 March), Cuthbert (20 March) and Benedict (21 March). The Lives of the three saints occur in a series in Catholic Homilies 11.⁶⁰ For all three the date for their commemoration is the feast of their deposition. In the case of St Benedict IElfric's failure to commemorate his translation (11 July), the more prominent feast in Benedictine houses, has elicited scholarly comment,⁶¹ and in the Benedictional it is the *translatio*, not the *depositio*, which is commemorated by a series of blessings and by a feast picture fraught with symbolism and spiritual significance.⁶² However, the *spiritus rector* behind the Benedictional was the man

whose uncompromising commitment to Benedictine monasticism was unparalleled in Anglo-Saxon England, whereas Y Elfric was aiming at a lay audience. It is also relevant to note that even in the Benedictional it is only one feast of St Benedict which is commemorated, not, as often in later benedictionals and sacramentaries, the translation and the deposition. In any event, the discrepancy between the Benedictional and JElfric's sanctorale in their choice of St Benedict's feast day pales when we look at the three saints as a group. Apart from the uniformity within the group which is provided by IElfric celebrating in each case the deposition, his choice of these specific feast days allows him to deal with the three saints in a row (12, 20, 21 March), which would not have been possible by choosing the feast of 11 July for St Benedict. It is obvious that the three saints, Gregory, Cuthbert, Benedict, are of paramount importance for the English church, and arranging their uitaes in a series stresses their collective importance. It is surely significant to find this arrangement of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict as a group adumbrated in the iconography of the Benedictional. In the miniature of the 'Choir of Confessors'⁶³ they are depicted full length, side by side in the foreground (with St Benedict in the middle). The heads and shoulders of four further confessors fill in the background, but Benedict, Gregory and Cuthbert are the only confessors identified by their names. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that St Gregory is given a set of blessings on his feast day,⁶⁴ but no feast picture, while St Cuthbert has no specific blessing and hence no feast picture either. However, Cuthbert's iconographic prominence in the 'Choir of Confessors' makes it almost certain that he too was commemorated, and that the Benedictional's blessings for 'One Bishop Confessor'⁶⁵ was presumably said on his feast day. In other words, i lfric is elaborating on an association of the three saints which occurs in a prominent position in the Benedictional but not yet in its text and its feast miniatures.

Given the central role assigned to Gregory, both by the Benedictional and by JElfric, one wonders whether the Benedictional's and JElfric's omission of St Augustine of Canterbury may not be interconnected.⁶⁶ St Augustine is provided with special blessings in later benedictionals, such as the Anderson Pontifical or the Canterbury Benedictional,⁶⁷ as well as with mass sets in sacramentaries,⁶⁸ and there is an anonymous vernacular uita, preserved in fragmentary form in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 162, p. 563.⁶⁹ ,Elfric, however, does not include Augustine among his additions to the Benedictional's saints, but prefers to incorporate what information he provides concerning St

Augustine's missionary activities in his account of St Gregory. 'Elfric's virtual omission of Augustine not only has a parallel in the Benedictional: it also brings to mind the lengthy preface to IEthelwold's translation of the Regula S. Benedicti, where Augustine's importance is played down in order to stress the central role taken by Gregory in the conversion of the English.⁷⁰

Another group of saints is formed by SS IEthelthryth and Swithun. Their uitaes occur as nos. xx (IEthelthryth, 23 June) and xxi (Swithun, 2 July) of the Lives of Saints. Again it is the depositio that is commemorated for both saints, which in the case of St Swithun is somewhat peculiar, since, by the time R-lfric was writing, his translatio, which had been staged by Bishop ,Ethelwold on 15 July 971, may be supposed to have gained at least equal importance.⁷¹ Again, one reason for RElfric's choice of the feast days must have been to commemorate the same type of feast for both saints.⁷² Curiously, at first sight, the Benedictional agrees with /Elfric's sanctorale in assigning the blessings and feast picture for St Swithun to 2 July. This assignment, which seems noteworthy in view of JEthelwold himself effecting Swithun's translation on 15 July 971, may, perhaps, be economically explained on the assumption that 15 July only gained importance as the second and, in the event, principal feast of St Swithun in the course of the 970s and that, if (as seems plausible) the Benedictional was produced for Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973, it certainly will have been planned some time earlier.⁷³

There are further parallels between Swithun's and JEthelthryth's representation by iElfric and in the Benedictional (text and iconography), inasmuch as Swithun is treated in both places in a highly conventional manner, whereas the representation of 'Ethelthryth is replete with individualistic and biographical detail.⁷⁴ Yet, notwithstanding the utterly different kind of historical evidence which was available for both saints, IEthelthryth and Swithun are assigned important roles, both by zElfric and the Benedictional, as prototypically English saints. Like SS Benedict, Gregory and Cuthbert, both 2Ethelthryth and Swithun seem to have been incorporated in the Benedictional's prefatory cycle of miniatures of 'Choirs of Apostles and Saints'. For IEthelthryth the evidence is still available: in the 'Choir of Virgins', which has been preserved in toto,⁷⁵ 2Ethelthryth together with St Mary Magdalene are the only virgins identified by name and distinguished by their position in the foreground, and by the depiction of a gold nimbus round their heads, while all the other virgins wear crowns. ⁷⁶ For St Swithun the Benedictional's evidence must be

reconstructed, since the initial 'Choir of Confessors' has been mutilated by the cutting out of leaves. But Robert Deshman has advanced compelling reasons for thinking that St Swithun, named and distinguished in representation, was one of the saints in the now missing part of the 'Choir of Confessors'.⁷⁷

Given these obvious parallels between 'Elfric's sanctorale and the Benedictional it may not be unreasonable to assume that, on close inspection and comparison, further links between them will come to light, and that such links will not be restricted to the sanctorale parts of the liturgical year but will also extend to its temporale.⁷⁸ It will be necessary, therefore, in our search for the fontes for 'Elfric's great cycles of homilies and saints' Lives to move beyond the written word and consider the shaping influences on these cycles of great works of art, produced in honour of God and his saints, such as the Benedictional of fEthelwold. fElfric, who took great pride in being a Winchester alumnus, and who through all his life felt a deep veneration for his master AEthelwold, will no doubt have had an intimate acquaintance with IEthelwold's most lavish book. Furthermore, we have to bear in mind that not only the iconography but also the textual structure of the Benedictional was innovative, elaborate and influential. The text of the Benedictional is a scholarly compilation which systematically provides, for the feasts of the sanctorale and the temporale, the blessings of the two principal traditions of the genre, namely the so-called 'Gallican' and 'Gregorian' benedictions, and which includes a substantial number of benedictions not found in any source and therefore presumably composed either by JEthelwold himself or under his supervision.⁷⁹ The texts of all benedictionals which have survived, in surprisingly large numbers, from late Anglo-Saxon England ultimately derive from 'Ethelwold's Benedictional,⁸⁰ and the composition of new blessings for a benedictional seems to have ranked high among the intellectual activities of IEthelwoldian and post-IEthelwoldian Winchester.⁸¹ It is entirely conceivable therefore that, while at Winchester, .Elfric himself was involved in the composition of such blessings, and that such involvement in turn may well have contributed to his readiness to let himself be guided by the model benedictional in the choice and representation of the saints in his cycles.

It would be interesting to know whether the dedicatees of the Lives of Saints, Ealdorman 'thelweard and his son, the thegn 'Ethelmxr, together with the other experienced and pious laymen who were prominent at King , 'Ethelred's court around the millennium and who

may have formed the first reading public for 'lfric's saints' Lives and homilies, would have been in a position to perceive and appraise the links between the Benedictional and lElfric's sanctorale.⁸² Certainty is not possible, but in addressing the question it is important to note that the blessings of a benedictional occupied a prominent and prestigious place in a part of the liturgy which provided for an active participation of the laity: the blessings were said during mass on Sundays and feast days after the Pater noster and immediately before communion, and they could be pronounced by a bishop only. As to the possibility of an inspection of JEthelwold's Benedictional by lay persons (at least those of some standing) we have seen that the Benedictional furnishes much of the ideological background of Edgar's rule and coronation, and hence may have always been intended for public display in the church on certain occasions. Interestingly, the dedication poem of the Benedictional, composed and written by EEthelwold's pupil Godeman (the scribe of the Benedictional and latterly abbot of Thorney) expressly mentions future contemplation of the book.¹³ Around the millennium the reign of King Edgar was viewed with nostalgia as a bygone Golden Age,⁸⁴ and as an age whose notion of kingship and successful administration of the body politic was perceived as still valid, so, probably, the Benedictional's iconographic message will not have been lost on the great and the good of s lfric's generation. It is possible, therefore, that there is a political as well as a spiritual dimension to the links between the Benedictional of lEthelwold and lElfric's sanctorale.

Gregory: the apostle of the English

When, at some point in the early 990s,¹ Ælfric set out to compose his homily for the feast day (12 March) of Pope Gregory the Great (590-604), he will have been sharply aware that he was recording the vita of the saint who, apart from Christ's apostles, had enjoyed the longest and most universal veneration in Anglo-Saxon England. By the time Ælfric was writing, the cult of St Gregory in England stretched back at least 300 years. In the light of the universality and the venerable tradition of Gregory's cult in England, Ælfric will no doubt have given especial attention to what he chose to relate about the saint in the first vernacular account of his life ever to be written. For an adequate assessment of how Ælfric, the Benedictine monk and Winchester alumnus, saw Gregory, and how he wished his lay audience to see the saint, a twofold approach will be necessary. In the first part of this chapter I shall try to establish what may be assumed Ælfric the scholar knew about Gregory's life, his personality and writings, and the development of his cult. In the second part I shall examine what of his knowledge Ælfric the priest and teacher thought suitable to impart to his audience, and what, possibly, was the rationale for his decision.

[An earlier version of this chapter was published as M. Gretsch, 'Ælfric and Gregory the Great', in Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes, ed. D. Scragg, Old English Newsletter, Subsidia 30 (2001), pp. 11-54.]

THE APOSTLE OF THE ENGLISH

In the collective memory of the English church Gregory² had always been *doctor et apostolus* of the gens Anglorum. The earliest Life of St Gregory (and one of the earliest manifestations of his cult anywhere in Europe), written by a monk or nun in the Northumbrian double monastery of Whitby, sometime between 704 and 714,³ calls him '*nostro . . . magistro*', '*doctor noster sanctus Gregorius*' and '*in beato nostro apostolico Gregorio*',⁴ and draws an engaging picture of Gregory leading the English before the Lord on the Day of Judgement, when every apostle shepherds the people he has converted to the Christian faith into His presence.⁵ At some earlier point, perhaps as

early as c. 680,6 Aldhelm (d. 709 or 710), abbot of Malmesbury and latterly bishop of Sherborne, referred to Gregory as 'praeceptor et pedagogus noster',7 and perwigil pastor et pedagogus noster', going on to explain the possessive pronoun: "'our" I say (because it was he) who took away from our forebears the error of abominable paganism and granted them the rule of regenerative grace'. In his *Historia ecclesiastica*, completed in 731, Bede introduces his biography of Gregory (placed conspicuously at the beginning of book II) with the remark that a full account of Gregory is appropriate in a history of the English church, 'quia nostram, id est Anglorum, gentem de potestate Satanae ad fidem Christi sua industria conuertit',10 and therefore: 'Quem recte nostrum appellare possumus et debemus apostulum'.11 Perhaps the most moving testimony to this collective memory of the English church is the beginning of the Anglo-Saxon hymn for St Gregory: 'Alme Gregori, meritis precipue / pater Anglorum doctor et apostole': 'Blessed Gregory, excellent in your merits, father of the English, teacher and apostle'. 12

Therefore, when Telfric, in the second sentence of his *Life*, says about Gregory:

He is rihtlice Engliscre 8eode apostol, for8an be he burh his rxd and sande us fram deofles biggengum xtbr&d and to Godes geleafan gebigdei3

he will have been aware that - in spite of the clear verbal echoes - he was not only reiterating Bede, one of his principal sources. It is possible, but not certain, that Telfric knew the Whitby *Life*, and we shall return to this question in due course.14 His Winchester training will no doubt have guaranteed a thorough knowledge of Aldhelm, the most prominent curriculum author in Jethelwoldian Winchester.15 Interestingly, Aldhelm had coupled the Lives of SS Agatha and Lucy in his prose *De uirginitate*, quoting the authority of Pope Gregory, who had instituted the commemoration of these two saints together in the Canon of Mass; and there is reason to think that Aldhelm's remark and arrangement of the two Lives prompted -/Telfric, in turn, to relate the *uitae* of Agatha and Lucy in conjunction, thereby violating the overall chronological order of his *Lives of Saints* collection. 16 With regard to Telfric's knowledge of the hymn for St Gregory's feast day, we have to note that this hymn is preserved in two manuscripts only: Durham, Cathedral Library, B. III. 32, an eleventh-century (s. xi²/4) hymnal of the so-called Canterbury type (probably written at Canterbury, possibly at Christ Church), and London, BL, Harley 2961 (the 'Leofric Collectar'), an eleventh-century manuscript (s. xi¹{}), containing a

hymnal which represents the use of the secular clergy.¹⁷ However, the hymn for Gregory is last in a series of hymns celebrating the apostles; they are distinguished as a group by a common core of stanzas, which is supplemented in each hymn by one individual stanza commemorating the apostle in question. This group of hymns to the apostles is also represented (albeit with some omissions) in the so-called Winchester type of hymnal." JElfric's own remarks on the use of hymns in the monastic Office, in his Letter to the Monks of Eynsham, are of no help here: he does not comment on this group (as he does not comment on many other hymns of the complete hymnal).¹⁹ In short, though we may not be certain, it is, perhaps, reasonable to assume that 'Elfric will have chanted 'Alme Gregory' on St Gregory's dies natalis.

ARCHBISHOP THEODORE

By the time that Aldhelm, the Whitby author and Bede were writing, we know of at least two altars and one chapel bearing dedications to St Gregory. 2') By their geographical distribution (the altars at Canterbury and Whitby, the chapel at York) they suggest that the cult of St Gregory, from its very beginnings, was a pan-English cult, not a local affair. It has been held that the materials for Gregory's cult such as the details of his biography or of the miracles performed by him were to a large extent disseminated by oral tradition.²¹ This tradition would have been brought from Canterbury to the North first by Queen JEthelburh Tata (daughter of King IEthelberht of Kent (560 or c. 585-616) and married to King Edwin of Delta and Bernicia (616-33)) and her bishop Paulinus (one of the second group of missionaries sent by Gregory in 601), and subsequently by Edwin's and JEthelburh's daughter Eanfl&d (d. c. 704), who returned to the North (having spent her childhood in the South) to marry Oswiu, king of Bernicia and Deira (642-70), and who latterly became abbess of Whitby.²² In addition, it has been suggested that material for the cult of Gregory was imported from Rome by way of English pilgrims or travellers. However, Alan Thacker has recently advanced arguments that the material for the cult originated preponderantly from written, not from oral, sources.' After all, one of the most famous pieces of evidence which has been adduced to buttress the hypothesis of oral transmission, Gregory's puns in his encounter with the slave-boys at the market-place in Rome, work satisfactorily only in Latin but not in the vernacular.²⁴ Thacker points to Archbishop Theodore (668-90) as the moving force behind the propagation of Gregory's cult in England from the late seventh century onwards.²⁵

As with many of the activities linked with Theodore, certainty is not attainable, but Thacker's arguments carry weight. Briefly, they concern Theodore's apparently close links with Whitby through the Whitby alumni Offfor of Worcester and John of Beverley, who subsequently became his students, and through Abbess IElfllhd, Hild's successor, who, perhaps, commissioned the Whitby Life. They further concern the veneration for Gregory shown by Aldhelm (see above, pp. 22-3), another of Theodore's pupils; the occurrence of the notion of the 'baptism of tears' in both Theodore's teaching and the Whitby Life; and the invocation of Gregory in one of the litanic prayers in the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, Ll. 1. 10). As Michael Lapidge has shown, some of the prayers in this prayerbook (written c. 820 x 840, somewhere in Mercia) are closely linked with a small dossier of Greek prayers which was probably brought to England by Archbishop Theodore.²⁶ In this connection it might be interesting to add that there are some grounds for thinking that an invocation to Gregory was also contained in the Greek litany of the saints which presumably formed part of Theodore's booklet of prayers, and which (as Michael Lapidge has also shown) became the germ from which the litany of the saints of the western church developed. This Greek litany survives, in much truncated form, in a quire added to the famous VEthelstan Psalter' (London, BL, Cotton Galba A. xviii) in England in the tenth century, very possibly at the court of King 'Ethelstan (924-39). The litany in Galba A. xviii breaks off after only seven invocations, but at an early point it had been translated into Latin and copied into a prayerbook (London, BL, Royal 2. A. XX), written in the second half of the eighth century, perhaps at Worcester. It is this translation in which Gregory's name is recorded. There is, of course, no certainty that the litany in Royal 2. A. XX preserves Theodore's original Greek litany intact and without additions; in any case, the occurrence of Gregory's name here is worth noting.²⁷

As a further testimony to Theodore's interest in Gregory one might mention the Leiden Glossary. This manuscript (now Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. lat. Q. 69, 20r-36r), written at St Gallen c. 800, is the principal witness of a family of some twenty glossaries which all represent the teaching done by Theodore and Hadrian in their Canterbury school.²⁸ The Leiden Glossary contains batches of glosses on Gregory's *Dialogi* and *Regula pastoralis*. The glosses on the *Dialogi* (forty-six or fortynine) by far outnumber those on the *Regula pastoralis* (six), which may suggest an interest in hagiography in the Canterbury school, since miracles worked by saints are one of the principal concerns of Gregory's *Dialogi*.²⁹ This interest

in hagiography is confirmed by further batches of glosses on saints' Lives: there are two batches on the Vita S. Martini by Sulpicius Severus (nos. iii and xliii) and two batches on Athanasius's Vita S. Antonii (in the Latin translation of Evragius, nos. iii and xxviii). In addition to these two 'classics' of hagiography, the Leiden Glossary contains a batch of glosses on the anonymous Vita S. Eugeniae (no. xlii). In other words, there seems to have been a keen interest in hagiography in the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian, and saints' Lives were read there and expounded by these Mediterranean masters, as were two of the principal works of Gregory the Great. Nevertheless, given the scarcity of unambiguous evidence, the assumption that it was indeed Archbishop Theodore who instituted the cult of Gregory as the first saints' cult to be celebrated by the entire English church must remain a hypothesis. It is even less possible to ascertain whether IElfric will have been aware by whom and when the cult of Gregory was first promoted.

IElfric and Theodore

On the hypothesis that Theodore was somehow involved in the promotion of Gregory's cult, the question of whether IElfric will have been aware of this circumstance turns on his knowledge of the methods and achievements of the Canterbury school at large. Regrettably, on this important point our sources leave us very much in the dark. No doubt IElfric will have been intimately acquainted with Bede's account of Theodore and his episcopal activities in England (in book IV of the *Historia ecclesiastica*), and he will have been impressed by the glowing terms in which Bede described the school established by Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury (in HE IV. 2). In the calamitous years around the millennium JElfric will in particular have taken to heart Bede's remark that never before had the English experienced such happy times as during Theodore's archiepiscopate:

*dum et fortissimos Christianosque habentes reges cunctis barbaris nationibus essent terrori, et omnium vota ad nuper audita caelestis regni gaudia penderent, et quicumque lectionibus sacris cuperent erudiri, haberent in promptu magistros qui docerent.*³⁰

For JElfric, with hindsight, this remark will have borne directly on King Alfred's thoughts (in the Preface to his translation of Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*) on the interrelationship between politics, prosperity, Christianity and erudition;³¹ it will also have borne directly on the notion with which he had been imbued during his

Winchester training, that the body politic would thrive only through close collaboration between the king and the political and ecclesiastical elite: a notion which IElfric himself was to develop into a kind of programme of military and spiritual resistance to the Vikings.⁵² However, glowing as Bede may have been in his account of the Canterbury school, he was rather vague where details of instruction there were concerned. Similarly, no English manuscript of the Biblical Commentaries has survived, and (with one exception) no English manuscript of the 'Leiden family' of glossaries. By the same token, no traces of knowledge of these texts (or of other works associated with Theodore) have so far been detected in tElfric's writings, although there is some tenuous evidence that the Biblical Commentaries were known in tenth-century England.³³ As a result of this situation, we simply cannot form an estimate how far beyond Bede's account 'Elfric's knowledge about Theodore (and his possible association with the cult of Gregory) may have stretched.

Canterbury - Whitby - Worcester - Winchester?

There may, however, be one tantalizing clue. Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 6, written at Worcester in the first half of the twelfth century, is the only English manuscript of the 'Leiden family' which has survived. J. D. Pheifer's study of the textual relationships of the Bible glosses in the 'Leiden family' suggests that CUL Kk. 4. 6 and the Leiden Glossary derive independently from the collection originally compiled in the Canterbury school.' It is possible, therefore, that an English tradition of the Canterbury glosses existed (either dating from the pre-Viking period, or reimported into England at the end of the ninth or in the tenth century), and that these glosses were disseminated in a number of manuscripts, one of them extant at Worcester in the twelfth century, and serving as the exemplar for Kk. 4. 6. There is a further link between CUL Kk. 4. 6, Gregory, and possibly, Theodore. An episode from Gregory's biography, which is alluded to in a garbled form in the Whitby Life of Gregory, is copied, in a more comprehensible version, in the margins of CUL Kk. 4. 6 in a late-twelfth century hand. (The principal content of the manuscript is a copy of the *Liber pontificalis*.) Both the Whitby Life and the marginal entries in Kk. 4. 6 apparently drew on the same source.³⁵ The marginal entries in CUL Kk. 4. 6 give King Alfred's 'Dicta' as their source, ³⁶ but since the Whitby Life can be dated 704 x 714, the source common to the Life and CUL Kk. 4.6 must antedate the ninth century, originating, possibly, at Theodore's Canterbury, and this source may have been available at Worcester at a very early date.³⁷ Furthermore, it is not impossible that the Whitby Life itself was

available at Worcester by the late ninth century.³⁸ This much is suggested by the identical unusual epithet Lat. *os aureum* and OE *gyldenmup* (both translations from Greek *chrysostomos* 'golden-mouthed'); this epithet is used of Gregory both by the author of the Whitby Life and by Bishop Warferth of Worcester in his prefatory remarks to books II and III of his translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*.³⁹

How does this hypothetical chain Canterbury - Whitby - Worcester relate to Ælfric? There were close and indubitable links between Winchester and Worcester in the late Anglo-Saxon period, especially, but not exclusively, in liturgical matters.⁴⁰ It is possible that these links between Winchester and Worcester in the fields of liturgy and learning in general were the result of the close ties between leading quarters in Mercia and part of the Wessex-Winchester establishment. By the time Ælfric was writing, these ties had been in existence for more than a century. In this connection we may, for example, recall King Alfred's family bonds with the Mercian royal house and, above all, his dependence on Mercian scholarship for the enactment of his reform programme. We may further recall the strong Mercian element prevalent in his grandson Æthelstan's reign, represented *inter alia* by Bishop Koenwald of Worcester (928/9-58), and by the king's most renowned scribe, known as 'Æthelstan A'. And we may finally recall that, in 957, King Eadwig's rule was restricted to Wessex, and that his brother Edgar was elected king of the Mercians and Northumbrians (in circumstances which are far from clear), and that two years later Edgar succeeded his brother as king of all England in the reunited Kingdom of the English. The events surrounding Edgar's accession to the throne signal the persistence of a Mercian component in the heyday of the Benedictine reform, and we may suspect that Ælfric's teacher, Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, had been informed by this Mercian component ever since the years of his *adolescencia*, which he spent in King Æthelstan's entourage.⁴¹ In short, it is entirely conceivable, but not provable, that material pertaining to the cult of Gregory (and perhaps linked to Theodore's Canterbury) which was extant at Worcester by the tenth century had come to Ælfric's notice and would have shaped his perception of the saint, even if such material has left no securely identifiable traces in Ælfric's own representation of Gregory's life ⁴²

ALFRED THE GREAT

We are on somewhat firmer ground with King Alfred's reform programme and the Alfreðian translations. Gregory featured

prominently in this programme. The first translation undertaken by Alfred himself was the *Regula pastoralis*. It was preceded by what was apparently the first vernacular text to be produced by Alfred's circle, the translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*, undertaken by Bishop W2erferth of Worcester. This is the only translation mentioned (with praise) by Asser in his biography of the king and must therefore have been in existence by 893.³ Thus, by an interesting coincidence, the two works of Gregory known to have been studied in Theodore's school⁴⁴ were the first two (and the only works by Gregory) chosen for inclusion among the books most necessary for all men to know'.⁴⁵ By the same coincidence, in both circles, Gregory's *Dialogi* with their saints' Lives and miracles are given precedence over the sober instruction of the *Regula pastoralis*.

Gregory, of course, plays a pivotal role in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, and hence in the 'Old English Bede'.⁴⁶ Bede's account of the mission of Augustine and his companions to Canterbury occupies chs. 23-33 of book I of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. It represents Pope Gregory as the *spiritus rector* behind this mission, who was closely involved in its progress until his death in 604. This account is followed, in the first chapter of book II, by an account of Gregory's life and works, which concludes with a quotation of his epitaph in Rome, and has, as a sort of appendix, the story of Gregory and the English slave-boys: Bede, apparently, was not fully convinced of its authenticity.⁴⁷ A large amount of Bede's narrative of the mission is taken up by the verbatim inclusion of letters by Gregory, mainly to Augustine, but also to bishops in Francia, requesting support for Augustine and his companions. Most prominent among this source material is the so-called *Libellus responsionum*, which constitutes the longish ch. 27. It contains a series of extensive responses, sent by Gregory (in 601) to nine questions which had been put to him by Augustine. Augustine's questions, and hence Gregory's answers, are concerned with details of pastoral care in a newly converted community, but also with the form of life to be conducted by the missionaries, and with points of clerical discipline and penance.⁴⁸ Bede's account of Gregory's mission and Gregory's *uita* is reproduced by the translator of the Old English Bede in considerably abbreviated form (a technique which he employed in many other chapters). Thus, in book I all of Gregory's letters are omitted, with the notable exception of the *Libellus responsionum*, which is translated in its entirety.⁴⁹ However, the *lacunae* left by the omissions are not noticeable when reading the Old English translation alone: potentially rough edges are smoothly glossed over. The rationale behind the

omissions may have been that those interested in more than the external facts of the mission might be presumed to read the original Latin. The *Libellus responsionum*, on the other hand, may owe its inclusion to its emphasis on pastoral care. Bede's account of Gregory's life (in II. 1) is abbreviated even more drastically in the Old English version: only about one third is translated, the most notable omissions being: Bede's description of Gregory's personality, Gregory's desire for the contemplative life, and the detailed listing and description of his works. Translated are the dating clauses, the description of the place of burial, the epitaph, and the slave-boys episode. Again, the abbreviations appear to have been made with the needs of a non-Latin speaking audience in mind, and again, there are no loose ends, in spite of the omissions. We shall consider in due course the impact which the Old English Bede possibly had on Ælfric's *Life of Gregory*. 50

It is clear that Ælfric knew and had read most, probably all, of the Alfredian translations. He refers to them collectively and approvingly in the English preface to the First Series of the Catholic Homilies.⁵¹ In the introduction to his Gregory homily he mentions specifically, and again with implicit approval, the Old English Bede (and, interestingly, attributes the translation to King Alfred himself);⁵² in the brief homily on the efficacy of mass, he refers his readers to the Old English translation of Gregory's *Dialogi* for further information on the matter in hand;⁵³ and it is possible that on two occasions Ælfric recycles phrases from Alfred's translations of the *Regula pastoralis* and Boethius's *De consolazione philosophiae*,⁵⁴ although in the case of isolated verbal echoes it is always difficult to distinguish between coincidence and borrowing.

Ælfric may not have developed a taste for the Alfredian translations individually and idiosyncratically, but his interest in, and esteem for, this group of texts may well have been part of his Winchester training. This much is suggested, for example, by the version of Bishop Wulfstan's translation of the *Dialogi* as transmitted in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76. This manuscript was written in the first half of the eleventh century, very possibly at Worcester; it preserves (in fragmentary form) a comprehensive revision of Wulfstan's translation, aiming at greater precision with regard to Gregory's original, and at a modernization of the vocabulary. It is this modernization which gives us a clue where to look for the origin of the exemplar of Hatton 76. A considerable number of words were replaced by lexical items belonging to the so-called Winchester vocabulary, that is the word usage in a number of semantic fields which was developed and taught in Æthelwold's circle.⁵⁵ The

inconsistent and apparently experimental character of the lexical substitutions may suggest an early date for the revision, and the fact that i lfric's translation of Pseudo-Basil's Adnionitio ad filiunz spiritualeni is uniquely preserved (in fragmentary form) in Hatton 76 may be a further pointer to the Winchester ambit. It has been suggested that the reviser may have been Ealdwulf, the first abbot of Peterborough (refounded by iEthelwold inc. 970), and subsequently bishop of Worcester (992-1002) and archbishop of York (995-1002).⁵⁶ But Ealdwulf will not have been the only eligible candidate.⁵⁷ In any event, Hatton 76 is a further important witness to the close links between Winchester and Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see above, p. 31).

Later Winchester interest in the Alfredian translations may have had its roots in the veneration in which these texts and their author were apparently held at King 'Ethelstan's court, and in the impact which this ambience had on the future Bishop EEthelwold.⁵⁸

THE REFORM PROGRAMME OF 747

No doubt the Alfredian translations will have helped to impart to iElf ric a sharp awareness of the pivotal role played by Pope Gregory in the AngloSaxon world of learning and spirituality, as well as in the establishment and organization of the English church. However, King Alfred was not the first scholar in Anglo-Saxon England to base a programme of spiritual and intellectual revival on Gregory's writings and (presumably) his cult. Almost a century and a half earlier, the activities which led to the Council of Clofesho in 747, the council itself, its acta, stipulating a programme of reform, and the dossier of texts with which the acta were apparently transmitted, all stressed Gregory's importance for the AngloSaxon church and society. Our knowledge of the events around the year 747 derives chiefly from a group of documents which were assembled in a manuscript that was almost completely destroyed in the Cotton fire of 1731: London, BL, Cotton Otho A. i.⁵⁹ The texts contained in Otho A. i, and of which only a few charred fragments have survived, are as follows. 60

First, the canons of the Council of Clofesho. The council was convened by Cuthberht, archbishop of Canterbury, in September 747 and was, apparently, attended by 'Ethelbald, king of the Mercians (716-57).⁶¹ Canon 17 of the acta stipulates that the feast days of St Gregory and of St Augustine of Canterbury should be celebrated universally in the English church and that both should be invoked in

the litany of the saints.⁶² It is interesting to note that the text gives the date only for St Augustine's dies natalis (26 May) but not the date of St Gregory's feast day (12 March), which may suggest that by 747 the cult of Gregory was already firmly established and widely practised, and needed only to be confirmed by the stipulations of the council.⁶³ With regard to the litany of the saints, it may be noted that Gregory is invoked almost invariably in the surviving litanies from Anglo-Saxon England.⁶⁴ Omission of his name from a litany is extremely rare, and practically always explicable, for example, in terms of the abbreviated form of a litany.⁶⁵ It is not so easy to check the implementation of the stipulations of Clofesho with regard to St Augustine. An Augustine occurs in almost all of the litanies, but in most cases this would probably be Augustine of Hippo, and only in a few cases is his identity unmistakably clear, for example, when an Augustine *cunt sociis suis* is invoked.⁶⁶

The next text contained in Otho A. i was the letter sent, in 747, by the English missionary Boniface, archbishop of Mainz, to Archbishop Cuthberht of Canterbury.⁶⁷ The letter gives a synopsis of a recent Frankish reform synod, thereby stressing the necessity of regular meetings of church councils; it dwells at length on the duties of bishops and the difficulties involved in administering a young church, and points out a number of malpractices among the English which were in need of correction. It is in the context of the duties of bishops that Boniface expressly draws Cuthberht's attention to Gregory's *Regula pastoralis* as an invaluable guide for spiritual and practical instruction of the clergy.

The further contents of Otho A. i were Gregory's *Regula pastoralis* itself in a much abbreviated form;⁶⁸ and the text of a charter issued by King *s thelbald* of Mercia at Godmundeslaech (Gumley in Leicestershire) in 749, granting privileges to (unspecified) *monasteria et ecclesiae*, largely exempting them from obligations to secular powers.⁶⁹

There are reasons to assume that the original dossier of texts from which Otho A. i was copied also contained the letter sent by Archbishop Boniface (and seven further missionary bishops) to King *iEthelbald* in about 747, urging him to mend his ways, especially with regard to his exuberant and illicit sex life and to his encroachments on the property and independence of monasteries and churches, all of which had been reported to Boniface.⁷⁰ The inviolability of church property and privileges are emphasized by a reference to the authority of Pope Gregory. In this context it is interesting to note that in a letter

which Boniface sent to Ecgberht, archbishop of York, to accompany a copy of his letter to King RÆthelbald (and in which he asks Ecgberht to make amendments, if necessary, to this letter before it would be conveyed to the king), Boniface mentions a dossier of letters by Pope Gregory which he had recently received from the papal archives, and a copy of which he has dispatched to Archbishop Ecgberht, since, to his knowledge, these letters were not available in England.⁷¹

There are grounds for believing that - apart from Otho A. i - this collection of texts, leading to or emanating from the Council of Clofesho in 747, was preserved in several other (now lost) manuscripts;⁷² and it is evident that this collection lets us glimpse what has been called 'a concerted programme of secular and ecclesiastical reform'.⁷³ The important role which was assigned to Pope Gregory in this programme will have emerged even from the foregoing brief summary. Given his close ties with Mercia (see above, p. 31), it is entirely conceivable that King Alfred drew on this Mercian-Kentish reform, when he assigned a similar role to Gregory in his own programme of reform.

The question which must exercise us here is whether there is any plausibility in the assumption that IElf ric will have had knowledge of the Clofesho programme and the concomitant dossier of texts. It is clear from i lfric's pastoral letters in Latin and Old English that he had access to several collections of canons.⁷⁴ We may assume, moreover, that the study of the acts of church councils formed part of the advanced Winchester curriculum. Many of Althelwold's pupils 'became priests, abbots, and notable bishops, some even archbishops, in England', as his student Wulfstan proudly (and correctly) reports.⁷⁵ There can be little doubt that Bishop EÆthelwold had in mind precisely such careers for his students, and that he will have considered instruction in matters of ecclesiastical administration and legislation a prerequisite for such a career.⁷⁶ For Æthelwold himself an interest in the traditions of the English church, and a knowledge of the acts of various English and continental church councils can be demonstrated unambiguously, inter alia from his own consuetudinary, the Regularis concordia.⁷⁷ Certainly, the actor of the Council of Clofesho of 747 and the accompanying texts would have contained several points of interest for Æthelwold and (by implication) for his tuition. Thus, c. 10 stipulates that important liturgical functions such as the liturgy of mass or the sacrament of baptism should be expounded in the vernacular.⁷¹ C. 15 stipulates prayers for the kings after each of the canonical hours, which is of course reminiscent of the regular and frequent prayers for the royal house prescribed by the

Regularis concordia.⁷⁹ Interestingly, in the prohemium to the Regularis concordia I Ethelwold points out that these prayers should be said *usu patrum* 'after the usage of our forefathers'.⁸⁰ Finally, Boniface, remonstrating with King T Ethelbald for infringing the rights and property of churches and monasteries, and -/Ethelbald's charter of 749, confirming the privileges of *monasteria et ecclesiae*, would have been arguments of utmost importance in Bishop I Ethelwold's intense and uncompromising fight against the overlordship of secular persons (*saeculariunt prioratus*) over monasteries, and against the alienation of church property by secular and ecclesiastical magnates.⁸¹

There is a further reason why the 747 acts of Clofesho (as well as the acts of other Clofesho councils) would have been of especial interest to 'Ethelwold and his school, and this reason has to do with the location of Clofesho. The location of Clofesho (the most prominent place where Anglo-Saxon church councils were convened) is one of the mysteries of English church history, and a longstanding matter of debate. Recently, Simon Keynes has advanced convincing arguments for locating Clofesho in the diocese of Leicester, that is in the territory of the Middle Angles,⁸² and in a region of a 'monastic empire' formed *inter alia* by Breedon-on-the-Hill, Crowland, Brixworth and perhaps Thorney, and with Peterborough (Medeshainstede) as its centre.⁸³ On this hypothesis, it is surely no mere coincidence that Peterborough and Thorney were refounded by 'Ethelwold and staffed with abbots and monks from among his students;⁸⁴ and, interestingly, there is a charter issued by King Edgar, dated 967, and granting land at Breedon-on-the-Hill to Bishop I Ethelwold.⁸⁵ The sum of this evidence would suggest, therefore, that I Elfric may well have been aware of the important role assigned to Gregory in attempts to reform the Anglo-Saxon church and society, beginning with Clofesho in 747.

IELTHELWOLD AND GREGORY

Bearing in mind the impact which the Council of Clofesho of 747 and King Alfred's reform programme presumably had on J Elfric's teacher 'Ethelwold, we may next consider briefly the role played by Gregory himself in Bishop Y'Ethelwold's thought-world. J Ethelwold mentions Gregory at two crucial points in his own writings. In the prohemium to the Regularis concordia he points up the instruction, given to Augustine by 'our holy patron Gregory', to the effect that not only the Roman rite but, if appropriate, also the customs of the Gallican churches should be drawn upon in establishing the English church.⁸⁶ Thus, the authority of Gregory's *Libellus responsionum*⁸⁷ is adduced

to explain the presence of monks from Fleury and Ghent at the council which promulgated the *Regularis concordia*, and to sanction the pervasive influence which continental sources and especially the customs of Fleury were to have on Iethelwold's customary and the Benedictine reform at large.⁸⁸ JElfric, in his abridgement and rearrangement of the *Regularis concordia*, the so-called Letter to the Monks of Eynsham, chose not to reproduce his teacher's remark.⁸⁹ But since the prohemium to the *Regularis concordia* is all but omitted from the Letter,⁹⁰ no significance should be attributed to his silence on this point.⁹¹

The second of Iethelwold's crucial references to Gregory occurs in an earlier text: the Preface to his translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, known as 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' (EEM).⁹² The Preface may have been in existence - in a draft version - as early as the 940s, that is during zEthelwold's Glastonbury years.⁹³ EEM begins with an account of the coming of Christianity to England, and then goes on to relate the success story of the Benedictine reform and the pivotal part played by King Edgar in this story. The account of the English mission (which unfortunately has survived only in incomplete form)⁹⁴ is based on Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*; and it unmistakably enhances the role of Pope Gregory as the apostle of the English at the expense of Augustine. Again, Gregory's *Libellus responsionum* is drawn on, ⁹⁵ this time to testify that the early English church had been monastic and that therefore the establishment of monasteries and monastic cathedrals was in accordance with Gregory's original plans for the English church.⁹⁶ From references such as these it is clear that Bishop 'Ethelwold's tutelage will have imbued YIElfric with a notion of Gregory's importance and authority, not only for the Anglo-Saxon church and society in general, but also for the tenth-century reform, the ambience in which young iElfric was fostered. lElfric might also have learned from his teacher that Gregory's importance and authority could be used in rather strategic ways to achieve specific purposes.

There is a further tantalizing passage in EEM which could bear crucially on ,/Elfric. It is possible that, apart from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, JEthelwold drew on a further source: the *Life of Gregory* composed by Paulus Diaconus.⁹⁷ This text and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* were /Elfric's main sources for his own *Life of Gregory*. Given the extreme brevity of JEthelwold's account of the Gregorian mission (it occupies only about one page in print), his dependence upon Paulus Diaconus may fall short of proof. However, lEthelwold's statement, at a specific point of his narrative, that Gregory's mission

was divinely inspired and guided has a parallel only in Paulus, not in Bede. (Note that Paulus himself largely based his account on Bede.) Cf. especially (and bear in mind that EEM is in no way a translation):

donauit illi {soil. Gregorio} Pius dominus, ut totam pariter Anglorum conuerteret gentem. Cuius conuersionis, ut putatur, facta diuinitus hec occasio fuit.⁹⁸

the gracious Lord granted to him that he should convert the entire race of the English at one and the same time. It is thought that this opportunity of their conversion was occasioned by divine providence.

and

[bet ylece iglond ...} beahhwabre burh fultum Ixere bancweorban Cristes gyfe and purh sanctum Gregorium pies Romaniscan setles bisceop fram fem bystrum heora geleafleaste wearb genered.⁹⁹

{that same island} by the help of the memorable grace of Christ and by St Gregory, the bishop of the Roman see, was, nevertheless, saved from the darkness of their unbelief.

Apart from the verbal echo ('donauit illi plus dominus', 'diuinitus': 'burh fultum pyre bancweorban Cristes gyfe'), only Paulus, at this point in the narrative, goes on to relate the slave-boys episode and Gregory's intention to undertake the mission himself. iEthelwold has the same succession of events, but has only a summary reference to the episode (a fact which no doubt is due to the extreme brevity of his account).loo

If Aethelwold drew on Paulus Diaconus for this passage, the implication would be that Aelfric knew the two principal sources for his Life of Gregory ever since his days at iEthelwold's school. Paulus's Life seems to have been transmitted to Anglo-Saxon England as part of the so-called Cotton-Corpus legendary only: no single copies of the Life have survived from AngloSaxon England. Therefore, the implication might further be that this vast legendary of late-ninth- or early-tenth-century continental origin, and a source of primary importance for IElfric's Lives of Saints, was available already at iEthelwold's school, and, given a possible date for EEM in the 940s, even at a nascent stage of the reform. 101

There is one further important document connected with iEthelwold which, we may assume, had a shaping influence on JElfric's

perception of St Gregory: the famous Benedictional of Iethelwold. Very possibly, this lavish manuscript was produced for the occasion of King Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973. Its miniatures convey a number of complex and deliberate iconographic messages bearing on the role of the king and the church and its saints in a Christian society, and drawing heavily on Carolingian and patristic written sources.¹⁰² The Benedictional depicts SS Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict together as a group and in a very prominent position in the Choir of Confessors,¹⁰³ no doubt to stress the importance of these saints for the English church. The iconography of the Benedictional may well have prompted IElfric to commemorate these three saints by successive uitaes in the Second Series of his Catholic Homilies.¹⁰⁴ In this connection it may be interesting to note that the role of Augustine of Canterbury is played down by both master and pupil. The Benedictional has no miniature of St Augustine and (unlike later Benedictionals) no blessing for his feast day; in EEM the conversion of the English is almost wholly attributed to Gregory; JElfric has no homily for St Augustine's day, and his importance for the English church does, naturally, not much show up in his Life of Gregory.

THE AVAILABILITY OF GREGORY'S WORKS IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

We may next consider briefly which of Gregory's writings have survived in manuscripts written or owned in England up to 1100, and will therefore, presumably, have been available in a well-stocked library such as that of the Old Minster.¹⁰⁵ Helmut Gneuss has pointed out that the Anglo-Saxon transmission of Gregory's works stood apart from that of other patristic authors. Whereas, after the Conquest, the great English libraries had to be stocked with many of the works of Ambrose, Augustine and Jerome by the 'Norman library programmes', the works of Gregory were available, and almost all have survived in several copies from Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁰⁶ Thus the index to Helmut Gneuss's Handlist lists fourteen copies of the *Regulapastoralis*, nine copies of the *Dialogi*, seven copies of the *Homiliae*.xl. in euangelia, eleven copies of the *Homiliae* in Ezechielem, fifteen copies of the *Moralia* in Iob, and seven copies of the *Registrum epistularum* (all figures include fragments and excerpts). From this list it emerges that apparently only Gregory's *Expositio in Canticum Canticorum* and *In lihrum primum Regum expositiones* were not available in Anglo-Saxon England. However, both works were written down from Gregory's viva voce expositions, and his authorship has been in doubt until this century.¹⁰⁷

It must be said, however, that the above figures contain a considerable number of manuscripts which were clearly written after the Norman Conquest, and may therefore have been part of the 'Norman library programmes'. While arguably all of the nine manuscripts of the *Dialogi* and eleven of the fourteen manuscripts of the *Regula pastoralis* are of pre-Conquest date,¹ " only four of the seven manuscripts of the *Hortulanae*.xl. in euangelia, four of the eleven manuscripts of the *Homiliae* in Ezechielent and six of the fifteen manuscripts of the *Moralia* were certainly or arguably written before 1066.¹⁰⁹ For the *Homiliae*.xl. in euangelia we would have to add the pre-Conquest copies of the homiliary of Paul the Deacon, in which thirtytwo of Gregory's forty homilies are incorporated, and which was IElfric's main source for his Catholic Homilies (see below). Of the sixteen surviving copies of this homiliary only four are certainly or arguably of pre-Conquest date. In other words, for this important homiliary, which was heavily drawn on by IElfric, there is a similarly low survival rate of pre-Conquest in relation to post-Conquest manuscripts as for Gregory's collections of homilies or his *Moralia*. This situation, in turn, may permit us to think not too pessimistically about the availability of these Gregorian texts in a great library such as that of the Old Minster. There may be more reason for doubt with regard to the availability of Gregory's letters, the *Registrum epistularum*, at least in the late tenth and eleventh century. We have seen (above, p. 39) that in 747 Boniface had sent a copy of part of the *Registrum* to Archbishop Ecgerht of York. But this copy has not survived the Viking incursions, no more than the excerpts from the *Registrum* which the London priest (and future archbishop of Canterbury) Nothhelm had made for Bede in the papal archives.¹¹⁰ Practically all extant manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England are of post-Conquest date." It would be interesting to know whether, in spite of this negative evidence, the Old Minster, for example, in iEthelwold's and 'Elfric's time, had obtained a copy of the *Registrum*. But it is futile to speculate on this point, even if (given the Winchester interest in Gregory) an answer would provide us with a valuable clue for assessing the professionalism with which Winchester circles were pursuing their scholarly concerns.

The manuscript evidence for a specific part of Gregory's correspondence, his replies to Augustine's questions, the *Libellus responsionunt* (not included in the *Registrum*) is somewhat better. The *Libellus* was, of course, included in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (see above, p. 33). But, in addition, two complete pre-Conquest manuscripts have survived (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 320, s.

x2 or xe7, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 311, s. x2). The context of these manuscripts (penitentials) signals that the *Libellus* was copied more for its pastoral and disciplinary instruction than for an interest in the origins of the English church.

In his homilies 'Elfric drew heavily on the works of Gregory, and he liberally acknowledged his debt (as he did with other patristic authors whom he laid under contribution). For the two series of Catholic Homilies, for example, Eduard Dietrich and Max Forster counted, between them, twenty-six references to Gregory as a source.¹¹² It is clear now that for his homilies 'Elfric did not draw directly on the collections of homilies by Gregory, but that he translated them from the vast homiliary which Paulus Diaconus had compiled at the instigation of Charlemagne, and in which Gregory featured largely.¹¹³ There are, in addition, some cases where 'Elfric had immediate recourse to a text by Gregory, most importantly, for his *Life of St Benedict*,¹¹⁴ which is translated and adapted from book II of the *Dialogi*.

It may be deduced from the evidence I have assembled on the previous pages that 'Elfric will have been aware that writing a uita for St Gregory's feast day would be a demanding task: St Gregory was the one saint in his sanctorale who had had an immense impact on English history, and who had stood as a symbol for the unity of the English church long before political unification had become thinkable; a saint, moreover, about whom some fundamental knowledge could be anticipated in most of 'Elfric's lay audience,¹¹⁵ and a saint whose writings continued to provide important pastoral and spiritual guidance for clergy and laity alike in 'Elfric's own time. We may now turn to the *Life of St Gregory* to find out how 'Elfric addressed this task.

2ELFRIC'S LIFE OF ST GREGORY

The Latin uita

Apart from the brief official account of Gregory in the *Liber pontificalis*,¹¹⁶ five Latin uita of Gregory were in existence by the end of the tenth century, all of them interrelated. As we have seen (above, p. 22), the earliest *Life* was composed at Whitby at some point between 704 and 714. Next comes Bede's uita in *Historia ecclesiastica* II. 1 (to be supplemented by his antecedent account of the mission to England in I. 23-33). In the second half of the eighth century, Paulus Diaconus (b. 720 x 730, d. c. 799) composed a comparatively brief

Life of Gregory, perhaps at Monte Cassino, but certainly not at Rome, as may be deduced from a reference in the text." 7 It is this Life which was incorporated in the Cotton-Corpus legendary. 118 At some later point, probably in the late ninth or early tenth century (but certainly after 872), Paul's uita was expanded, principally by the addition of a number of miracles performed by Gregory. This version was produced by some unknown interpolator working at Rome; it is known as the 'interpolated version' or 'Paulus interpolatus'.119 At the instigation of Pope John VIII (872-82), Johannes Diaconus set about composing his longish Life of Gregory in 872 or thereabouts, working in Rome.120 Although the Whitby Life has survived only in one, continental, manuscript, written in the ninth century (now St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 567),121 a number of copies must have been in circulation, since most of Gregory's later biographers had recourse to the Whitby Life. It is possible, but not certain, that Bede drew on the Whitby Life;122 and we have seen (above, p. 30) that, possibly, the Whitby Life was available at Worcester in the late ninth century. We are on firmer ground with the Italian Lives: the interpolated version of Paul the Deacon's Life (but not Paul the Deacon himself) drew on the Whitby Life, which is the source for all the interpolated miracles;123 and earlier, John the Deacon had laid this Life under contribution. A copy of the Whitby Life must therefore have been available at Rome in the late ninth and early tenth century.124 The principal sources for Paul the Deacon's Life are Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the *Historia Francorum* by Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory's *Dialogi* and *Moralia in Iob*, and various of his letters from the *Registrum epistularum*.125 Finally, the principal sources for John the Deacon's longish uita are Bede, Paulus Diaconus (the original version), Gregory's *Dialogi* and *Moralia*, several of his letters and, as we have seen, the Whitby Life.

IELfric's sources

The principal sources for IELfric's Life of Gregory have been identified long ago, and a meticulous line-by-line analysis of the Life in respect of its sources is now available on the website of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*.126 The two principal sources are: Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and the Life by Paulus Diaconus in the original, not the interpolated, version and probably as transmitted in the Cotton-Corpus legendary, the vast collection of saints' uitaes and *passiones*, on which 'ELfric drew for so many of his saints' Lives.127 Here, as elsewhere in his writings, JELfric's authorial contribution (apart from his translation) lies in restructuring his material and carefully selecting from his sources so as to suit his own purposes.128 On the

whole, his translation is fairly close, so close that, on occasion, it is even possible to identify the subgroup of manuscripts of Paul the Deacon's *Life* whose variant readings 'Elfric's text reproduces: 129 cf., for example, *wopum* translating *fletibus*, not the variant *precibus*; 130 or on Oam feorOan deege pysre wucan translating *ab ipso ferie quarte*, not the variant *crastina die*.¹³¹ With regard to IElfric's recourse to his sources, it is further relevant to observe that the first (longer) part of his *Life* (up to line 170) is largely based on the *Life* by Paul the Deacon, whereas from line 175 until the end (line 260) JElfric draws predominantly on Bede. This clear demarcation in YIElfric's use of his sources can be explained in terms of subject matter: the chief content of the second part is an account of the mission to England, which is considerably more detailed in Bede's version than in that given by Paulus Diaconus. On the other hand, for the first part Paul the Deacon's narrative will have been of greater interest to IElfric, since it combined accounts of Gregory's life and activities as found in Bede and Gregory of Tours. By combining, rearranging and condensing his sources, 'Elfric achieved a rigorously chronological account of Gregory's life, and hence a perfectly translucent and concise structure for his *uita*.¹³²

JElfric's aims

Let us now look briefly at some narrative details which have been either omitted or retained by TElfric, in order to see what information may be gleaned from them about TElfric's considerations and aims when he composed his *Life*. 'Elfric omits, for example, Gregory's sojourn in Constantinople as *apocrisiarius*, or delegate of the apostolic see, and his acerbic controversy there with the patriarch of the city, Eutychius, concerning the question of whether the resurrection of the human body would occur in the flesh or only in the spirit.¹³³ IElfric further omits what may be called Gregory's psychogram, recording his lifelong yearning for the *uita contemplatiua* and his desperate attempts to reconcile the contemplative life with the duties of the *uita actiua*.¹³⁴ All that i lfric allows to stand of this conflict is the brief and sobering remark that Gregory was afraid to become inflated with arrogance by the worldly splendour of the pontificate.¹³⁵ It is a remark, however, which, unlike the existential conflict experienced by Gregory, would have met with immediate response in a lay audience, especially among its members of some standing. Similarly, the detailed listing and description of Gregory's works has not been taken over from the sources.¹³⁶ Again, with his lay audience in mind, JElfric contented himself with the remark that Gregory `gediht

manega halige trahtheb'.¹³⁷ But not only does Gregory the theologian, the intellectual and the writer become more shadowy, Gregory the man is also much less palpable, for example, when Bede's and Paul the Deacon's description of his recurrent illnesses and constant pain are reduced by 'Elfric to the meagre statement that he 'Orowade singallice untrymnyssse'.¹³⁸ By the same token, with two notable exceptions,¹³⁹ none of Gregory's activities in Rome, or of the historical events there during his lifetime, have found their way into IElfric's Life. From the account of the conversion of the English a considerable number of details relevant to the conversion, but not bearing directly on Gregory, has been omitted by IElfric, for example, the encounter of King 'Ethelberht of Kent and Augustine in the Isle of Thanet, the king's Christian wife of Frankish royal extraction and her Frankish bishop, Liudhard, or the mention of the earliest Christian services, which were conducted by Augustine in the ancient Roman church of St Martin at Canterbury.¹⁴⁰ Also omitted are (in spite of their direct bearing on Gregory) most of the numerous letters by Gregory, which Bede had inserted into his *Historia ecclesiastica*;¹⁴¹ and the *Libellus responsionum* gets only a passing reference.¹⁴²

From observations such as these it emerges that IElfric deliberately stripped the biography of Gregory of many details which he found in his sources (by no means all subsidiary) in order to present the saint in a specific way which he apparently considered most relevant and profitable for his audience. What precisely 'Elfric had conceived of as most relevant and profitable will become clear from a look at what biographical details he decided to retain. When 'Elfric reported, for example, the noble descent of Gregory,¹⁴³ his pursuit of learning,¹⁴⁴ but also the flair he had in his youth for costly dress and jewellery,¹⁴⁵ as well as his establishment of no less than seven monasteries, in one of which he lived 'regollice under abbodes hxse',¹⁴⁶ the message will not have been lost on men such as i thelweard, i thelmxr, Ordulf or Wulfric Spot. z'Ethelmxr had recruited Alfric as a masspriest and teacher for Cerne abbey in Dorset, in about 987; in the 990s, together with his father 'Ethelweard, ealdorman of the western provinces, he commissioned 'lfric's *Lives of Saints*; shortly after the millennium he founded the monastery at Eynsham in Oxfordshire, where he installed IElfric as abbot and where he himself retired temporarily in 1005. Ordulf, King I'Ethelred's maternal uncle, was involved in the foundation of the monastery at Tavistock in Devonshire, in the 980s, and possibly also retired to this or some other monastery in about 1005. Wulfric Spot, brother to Ealdorman IElfhelm of Northumbria, founded the monastery at Burton-upon-Trent in Staffordshire,

probably in the late 990s.¹⁴⁷ The dominant roles which these thegns played at the court of King IÆthelred in the years around the millennium emerges unambiguously from their attestations, frequent and in prominent positions, in the king's charters.¹⁴⁸ For Ealdorman IÆthelweard and his son -,Ethelm er an active interest in YElfric's writings is attested,¹⁴ and we may, perhaps, assume the same interest in men such as Ordulf, Wulfric and others, who occupied important positions in public service, but were endowed with intense personal piety and an inclination for the monastic life. To these men 'Elfric's Gregory will have provided a sublime model: of noble parentage, learned, in his youth given to the ways of the world, subsequently relinquishing his former life in order to become a monk and assiduous founder of monasteries, and yet being gloriously active in the service of God, organizing and supervising the conversion of the English race.

But there is more to 1Elfric's Gregory than serving as a model to the political elite in King IÆthelred's reign. The two columns on which / Elfric's uita rests are the conversion of the English and the longish sermon preached by Gregory to the people of Rome. It would appear obvious that, in an English Life of Gregory, the mission in which he was so closely involved should be given pride of place. But a glance at the account of the mission in the Whitby Life¹⁵⁰ reveals IElfric's especial emphasis in representing Gregory as the apostle of the English. But why is such prominence given in IElfric's Life to Gregory's sermon to the Romans? Gregory preached this sermon in 590, immediately before his consecration as pope, and while a plague was raging in the city.⁵¹ For an Anglo-Saxonist Gregory's sermon has clear Wulfstanian overtones: a city afflicted by disaster, the plague seen as a divine punishment, death striking suddenly and pervasively, children dying before their parents, everywhere houses are left empty by the many casualties, those dying often have no time to repent their sins. But although the people's sins are manifold and grievous, they can be forgiven, just as the inhabitants of Niniveh were forgiven their sins, by suitable penance. God is merciful, therefore let us do such penance as is pleasing to Him, and He will show His mercy on us. The penance which Gregory prescribed was a sevenfold litany proceeding from the principal churches of Rome towards S. Maria Maggiore, to be performed the following Wednesday, on St Mark's day (25 April). The litany was duly performed, the devastating effect of the plague showed itself for a last time during the processions, when eighty people fell dead within an hour. But Gregory exhorted the men and women to persist in their prayers, and eventually, God terminated the pestilence.¹⁵² Even from this brief summary the relevance for IElfric's

audience of the tone and content of Gregory's penitential sermon will have become obvious. Substitute for the raging plague the ravaging Vikings, and the sermon with its vivid description of the effects of the disaster and the remedy it suggests would perfectly suit contemporary conditions. Significantly, in the Latin Preface to the Second Series of Catholic Homilies (where the Life of Gregory is included) iElfric referred, for the first time in his writings, to the Viking attacks,¹⁵³ which had been renewed with ferocity in the early 990s, and which, after forty years of peace, must have come as a tremendous shock to the men and women of 'Elfric's generation, a shock which was soon to develop into an endless nightmare. It has been suggested, but not comprehensively explored, that 'Elfric reacted to this situation, especially in his Lives of Saints collection, where he may have included pieces such as The Forty Soldiers (no. ix), The Prayer of Moses (no. xiii), Achitophel and Absalon (no. xix), Maccabees (no. xxv), and others because of the parallels to contemporary political conditions which they provided, and because of their potential for serving as a vehicle for religious and political instruction of a lay audience. ¹⁵⁴ Of especial interest here is The Prayer of Moses, where eElfric's message is that a cruel enemy can be overcome only by a concerted programme of prayer offered by all groups of society. When seen in this context, Gregory's penitential sermon and the ensuing sevenfold litany would seem the first of TElfric's attempts to rouse his contemporaries into resistance, both spiritual and military, by providing them with models for such resistance from the Bible or from history. With regard to the sevenfold litany, instigated by Gregory in 590, it is interesting to note that, through Gregory's authority, a prominent contemporary liturgical form, litanic prayer and procession, is vested with additional importance as an effective remedy in a disastrous situation.¹⁵⁵ In other words, by marginalizing most of the biographical details of Gregory's Life and building his uita around the two focal points of Gregory's involvement in the mission to England and his penitential sermon, fElfric emphasizes the enduring pastoral and spiritual guidance which Gregory may provide to the gens Anglorum after 400 years, and in a time of great national distress.

~Elfric and the Old English Bede

In addition to IElfric's principal sources, Paul the Deacon's uita and Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, the Fontes website gives the Old English translation of the *Historic ecclesiastica* as a further source, most notably for the slaveboys episode.¹⁵⁶ This no doubt reflects the

opinion held on this point by Dorothy Whitelock and Malcolm Godden,¹⁵⁷ who think that there are verbal links in the episode as translated in the Old English Bede and by JElfric, links which suggest that iElfric had recourse to the Old English Bede.¹⁵⁸ However, on close inspection, I can find no instance where there are compelling reasons for assuming that the Old English Bede, and not the *Historia ecclesiastica* itself, was IElfric's primary (or even subsidiary) source for the passage. There are no genuinely idiosyncratic phrases or very rare and eccentric words common to both texts, and the verbal similarities are, perhaps, best explained as the result of two authors translating the same text into a language which (it must be stressed time and again) was far from having the lexical and syntactical resources of Modern English. However, the matter falls short of proof either way.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, it is clear that JElfric knew the Old English Bede. In the introduction to his *uita* he refers to the *Historia ecclesiastica* and its Old English translation as important sources for contemporary knowledge on Gregory.¹⁶⁰ And there may be a way - of greater importance than a few isolated verbal borrowings might be - in which the Old English Bede could have served as a model for IElfric.

It is well known that JElfric was in a habit of producing Latin epitomes of, or excerpts from, longer Latin works which he intended to translate into English. It was these Latin excerpts which then formed the base for his translations into the vernacular. Several manuscripts of such abbreviations which JElfric arguably prepared to serve as exemplars for his translations have survived. The two most important of these manuscripts are Boulogne-sur-mer, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 63, fols. 1-34, containing, for example, abbreviated excerpts from Julian of Toledo's *Prognosticon*, which IElfric used for as many as three of his Old English homilies; and Paris, BNF, lat. 5362, containing, *inter alia*, the *Epitome miraculorum et translationis S. Swithuni*, an abbreviation of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, which was one of 'Elfric's sources for his *Life of St Swithun*.¹⁶¹ We have seen (above, p. 34) that the Old English Bede reproduces its source in a considerably abbreviated form, and it may be significant that in the account of Gregory and of the mission to England the Old English Bede and JElfric often agree in their omissions. Thus both omit almost all the letters included by Bede,¹⁶² and the one letter given in partial translation in the Old English Bede is also one of the two letters which were translated by 'Elfric, the excerpts corresponding almost precisely in both texts.¹⁶³ Similarly, the account of Gregory's life and personality is abbreviated in the Old

English Bede¹⁶⁴ in a way which is reminiscent of 'Elfric's Life: no mention is made of Gregory's conflict between the contemplative and the active life or of the works which he produced. In the light of what is known of Elfric's working methods, one wonders therefore whether the Old English Bede might not have provided Alfric with a model for the structure of that part of his narrative which is based directly on the Latin *Historia ecclesiastica*.

Gregory's miracles

We must, in conclusion, briefly consider a point which brings us back to our earlier exploration of what Elfric may have known about Gregory and his cult beyond the details which he chose to include in his vita. At the very end of his Life, in the same sentence where he summarily refers to Gregory's writings (see above, p. 53), Elfric equally summarily states: 'and fela wundra on his life geworhte'.¹⁶⁵ But while Elfric's sources give explicit descriptions of Gregory's writings, both Bede and Paul the Deacon are silent on any miracles performed by him.¹⁶⁶ The silence of these sources would appear to have suited 'Elfric: his critical, and yet ambiguous, attitude towards miracles has been pointed out by Malcolm Godden.¹⁶⁷ On the one hand, Elfric asserts that the physical miracles of the early church have ceased, since they are no longer needed in an age where Christianity is firmly rooted; on the other hand, he relates a great number of miracles of just this physical nature in his homilies and saints' Lives, some of them (such as those worked by St Swithun's relics) occurring as late as the 970s.¹⁶⁸ Interestingly, Gregory himself, whom 'Elfric adduced as an authority concerning the problematic nature of miracles, revealed a similarly ambiguous attitude towards them. Elfric based his most pronounced renunciation of miracles (in his homily on the Ascension Day) on a homily by Gregory,¹⁶⁹ and the extract from one of the two letters by Gregory which 'Elfric admitted into his Life of Gregory points up the dangerous nature of miracles in respect of the person who performs them.¹⁷⁰ But Gregory also wrote the *Dialogi*, abounding with miracles, and Elfric recommended Bishop Wulfstan's translation of this work (see above, p. 35), and based his own Life of St Benedict¹⁷¹ on the Latin original. Nevertheless, it is clear that Elfric was not dissatisfied with Bede's and Paul the Deacon's reticence on the point of miracles. And it can be further shown that his own passing reference to the 'many miracles' performed by Gregory was more than a mere surmise attempting to cater for the expectations which his audience will have brought to a saint's Life.

Ælfric knew of miracles performed by Gregory. In his famous Easter homily¹⁷² he refers to a rather lurid miracle when, after Gregory's prayer, the mass-bread was transformed into a bloody finger in order to convince an unbelieving woman of the truth and reality of the transubstantiation at the Eucharist.⁷³ This same miracle is found in the Whitby Life, the interpolated version of Paul the Deacon's *uita* and in John the Deacon's *Life*.¹⁷⁴ There is a significant incongruity of detail between the miracle as related by John the Deacon and by Ælfric; and the interpolated version of Paulus Diaconus is not known to have reached Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁷⁵ The Whitby Life, however, apparently circulated more widely than the one surviving manuscript would suggest.¹⁷⁶ The Whitby Life is teeming with miracles, so that Ælfric's terse remark about the 'many miracles' performed by Gregory would appear to be well founded, if one may assume that he knew the Whitby Life. Moreover, such an assumption would lend substance to Ælfric's assertion at the beginning of his *uita* that, apart from the *Historia ecclesiastica*, 'many holy books' had reported Gregory's exemplary and holy life.⁷⁷ In any event, it is clear that choosing not to relate any miracles performed by Gregory was a decision deliberately taken by Ælfric. The Gregory he wanted to mediate to his audience was the apostle of the English and the preacher to the Romans as well as to the English in their distress. Miracles would only have distracted the attention of the audience from focusing this narrative icon of the bonus pastor.

CONCLUSION

Ælfric and Gregory: one facet of the multi-faceted history of Gregory in England. This history comprises the perception of Gregory's life and personality, of his involvement in the mission to the English and of his continuing importance for the English church; the perception also of his theology and of the role he played in shaping the liturgy. The history of Gregory in England comprises further the copying and close study of his writings, and the development of his cult. A number of the men, and one of the few women, who shaped the Anglo-Saxon church and society testify to Gregory's continuing importance among the people to whom he had sent his missionaries, and to the veneration in which he was held throughout Anglo-Saxon England: Theodore and Hadrian, who expounded Gregory's texts to their Canterbury students, and who may have actively promoted his cult for the first time in Anglo-Saxon England, perhaps as a unifying force for the English church; Aldhelm, Theodore's pupil, who in his influential

book and in his florid language extolled Gregory, and Gregory alone, as the man who had brought Christianity to England, thereby adumbrating the near-eclipse of St Augustine in tenth-century Winchester; /Elfflaed, the influential abbess of Whitby, successor to the renowned Abbess Hild and in contact with Archbishop Theodore, who, possibly, commissioned the first Latin Life of Gregory from one of the inmates of her double monastery;¹⁷⁸ Bede, whose deep veneration for Gregory and scholarly cast of mind led him to assemble all the evidence he could get hold of, and who thus laid the foundations for a solid knowledge of Gregory's personality and activities, foundations without which the picture of Gregory would be patchier even in the twenty-first century; Boniface, who, together with archbishops Cuthberht and Ecgberht, devised a programme of reform for the English church and society in which Gregory's teaching and his cult played a decisive role; Alfred, the pious layman and great king, whose amazing programme of moral, spiritual and intellectual revival would be almost unthinkable without the works of Gregory and the authority which the king attached to them; Bishop 'Ethelwold, who established a firm link between Gregory's authority and the monastic reform which he pushed through with all his energies; and finally IElfric, heir to this long tradition of the reception and cult of Gregory, as the mediator of Latin knowledge about Gregory to a lay audience, pointing out to this audience in a simple, yet forceful, way that the apostle of the English could still be a source of strength to his people in its present state of dire affliction.

Cuthbert: from Northumbrian saint to saint of all England

Why did eElfric write a Life of St Cuthbert? The answer may not be so obvious (and hence the question so futile) when we look at the corpus of surviving Old English prose saints' Lives and hagiographical pieces. Of the 106 items listed by Gordon Whatley¹ sixty-six (that is, almost two thirds) are by IElfric.² This relation changes significantly, however, when we look at the Lives of the English saints in the list. From the twelve (or thirteen)' English (or British) saints registered by Whatley, six have their Lives written by TElfric (SS Alban, IElthelthryth, Cuthbert, Edmund, Oswald and Swithun), while equally six (possibly seven) are by anonymous authors (SS Augustine of Canterbury, Chad, Guthlac, Mildred, Neot, Paulinus and, possibly, Seaxburga). To 'Elfric's account one might, perhaps, add the vision of the Northumbrian Jegn Drihthelm, derived from Bede, and assigned by 'Elfric (in the Second Series of his Catholic Homilies) to the Tuesday during the Minor Litanies.⁴ One may also add i lfric's Life of St Gregory, the apostle of the English. Nevertheless, it is clear that English saints figure much more prominently among the anonymous Lives than among those written by 'Elfric. It is also worth noting that, with the possible exception of St Mildred,' no English saints can be found among the saints and feasts commemorated by more than one piece in the Old English corpus. Fifteen instances of such duplication occur in Whatley's list and, apart from the Life of Mildred, ./Elfric is in each case the author of at least one of the texts. In a word, it is clear that English saints did not play a prominent role in IElfric's oeuvre and that the decision to admit an English saint to his sanctorale will have been taken only after some deliberation on his part. Significantly, perhaps, English saints do not play a prominent role in IElthelwold's Benedictional either: of the English saints mentioned above, only Cuthbert, R-thelthryth and Swithun are commemorated there by a blessing and/or a portrait. In order to understand the workings of JElfric's mind in this respect, it will be necessary to begin our exploration of./Elfric's hagiographical treatment of Cuthbert with an overview of what is known or may be deduced about his cult in the late tenth century.

Inevitably, our quest for 'Elfric's knowledge of St Cuthbert (d. 687) and his cult takes us first to Northumbria. The burgeoning of Latin Lives of English saints in Northumbria in the first two decades of the eighth century has often been commented on, and indeed, in pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin literature nothing similar can be found until the late tenth century, when a second period of intense hagiographical activity in Latin verse and prose Lives occurred.⁷ From early-eighth-century Northumbria have survived the earliest Life of Pope Gregory, the apostle of the English, written by an inmate of the double monastery of Whitby under the rule of Abbess 1Elflad (d. 713);⁸ the Life of Bishop Wilfrid (d. 709), written by Stephen of Ripon at some point in the decade between Wilfrid's death and c. 720;⁹ Bede's *Historia abbatum*, relating the biographies of the abbots of Wearmouth Jarrow up to Bede's lifetime (i.e. Benedict Biscop, Eosterwine (d. 689), Sigefrith (d. 689), Ceolfrith and Hwttberht), written after 716, the date of Abbot Ceolfrith's death. Ceolfrith is further commemorated in a Life (also written after 716) by an anonymous monk from WearmouthJarrow.¹⁰ But the hagiography of St Cuthbert takes pride of place among these northern texts. His first uita (VCA) was composed by an anonymous monk of Lindisfarne, sometime between 699 and 705.¹¹ There followed Bede's metrical Life (VCM), which is based on the anonymous prose Life, and was circulated in a first recension in 705 or shortly thereafter.¹² VCM was subsequently revised, the revision dating presumably from the second decade of the eighth century. 1 3 To this so-called 'vulgate redaction' 14 Bede joined a fresh prose Life of St Cuthbert (VCP), which was completed not later than 721 (that date being determined by the death, in 721, of Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne, the dedicatee of the work).¹⁵ To these three Cuthbert uitae one should add Bede's extensive treatment of Cuthbert's biography in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (73 1).¹⁶ The hagiographic nature of Bede's account clearly emerges from two chapters, each containing a post-mortem miracle by Cuthbert, which had come to Bede's notice only after he had finished VCP. Characteristically, these two chapters are usually added as a kind of appendix to the uita in the surviving manuscripts of VCP.¹⁷ With the exception of VCM (to which I shall return in due course), the Cuthbert uitae maintain a balance of some sort between the depiction of the historical setting and biographical details, and the conventions of hagiography, demanding a generalized, non-individualistic representation of a saint.¹⁸ Thus, in VCP several miracles are ascribed to Cuthbert which have close parallels in miracles performed by 'prototypical' saints such as Antony, Benedict or

Gregory, and, interestingly, Bede himself occasionally points up such parallels, thereby indicating that Cuthbert's intercessory powers will bear comparison with the powers of some of the [most renowned saints](#).¹⁹ With regard to the historical and political dimension, it has been held, for example, that Cuthbert was actively promoted by the Lindisfarne community and by Bede as a kind of 'Reichsheiliger', that his cult aimed at validating the unification of the two Northumbrian provinces, Bernicia and Deira, under one ruling family, and that, in this respect, his cult was comparable to the cult of St Martin in Merovingian Francia.²⁰

Before we may turn to Cuthbert's reception in the South of England - that aspect of his cult which bears most significantly on Ælfric's understanding of the saint - it will be necessary briefly to consider the evidence from the Continent.

THE CONTINENT

The exportation of the cult of St Cuthbert to the Continent may have some bearing on the question of how and when his cult reached Wessex.²¹ Both Boniface (d. 754) and Alcuin (c. 735-804) have been considered as agencies through which Cuthbert's cult may have been introduced to continental churches.²² With regard to Boniface, the transmission of a mass set for Cuthbert in a tenth-century sacramentary from Fulda (Boniface's most renowned monastic foundation and his burial place) has been pointed out.²³ From letters written by Boniface and Lull (his English pupil and successor as archbishop of Mainz) it emerges that both had a keen interest in obtaining copies of Bede's works, among these his two Lives of St Cuthbert. But it also emerges from this correspondence with various Anglo-Saxon recipients that it was only during the last decade of his life that Boniface, a native of Wessex, learned about Bede and his writings, and, by implication, about the Northumbrian saint Cuthbert.²⁴ Since there is no independent evidence suggesting a cult of Cuthbert in eighth-century Wessex, it is not possible to assess the involvement of Boniface in establishing this cult in continental churches.

We are on somewhat firmer ground with regard to Alcuin's knowledge of Cuthbert and his cult. It has been pointed out that Alcuin used one of the prayers for Cuthbert's mass (the post-communion) as found in the Fulda Sacramentary for the mass which he himself composed for [St Vedastus](#).²⁵ Judging from his extensive

treatment of Cuthbert in his poem on the bishops, kings and saints of York (drawing heavily on Bede's two Lives),²⁶ there can be no doubt that he reckoned Cuthbert among the most important pan-Northumbrian saints. A link between Alcuin's veneration of the saint and the tenth-century Fulda Sacramentary may, perhaps, be formed by the Frankish scholar Hrabanus Maurus (c. 780-856), Alcuin's most illustrious disciple, who had been teaching at Fulda since 804, and held the abbacy there from 822-841/2.²⁷

Mention should also be made of a third English expatriate to the Continent (like Alcuin of Northumbrian extraction): Willibrord (658-739), who was Boniface's predecessor as a missionary to the Frisians and founder of the monastery of Echternach (now in Luxembourg).²⁸ Not only is Cuthbert's Depositio (20 March) entered into Willibrord's personal calendar,²⁹ but we also have, in the anonymous Life and in Bede's prose Life, a firsthand account of a healing-miracle worked by Cuthbert's relics on one of Willibrord's priests, who, during a visit to Lindisfarne, had fallen grievously ill.³⁰ However, the late-ninth-century sacramentary from Echternach does not contain a mass set for Cuthbert.³¹

In addition to this rather scarce evidence from the eighth to the tenth century for the cult of Cuthbert in continental centres which were somehow connected with Anglo-Saxon England, we have a text, testifying that Cuthbert was known and commemorated in some form in churches all over Europe, and as late as the twelfth century. This text may very possibly be associated with Alcuin: the Metrical Calendar of York (MCY). This calendar is the earliest of three metrical calendars composed in Anglo-Saxon England.³² In its original form MCY consisted of eighty-two hexameters³³ and was composed in the later eighth century, probably at York. Its composition can plausibly be attributed to Alcuin's circle at York, perhaps to Alcuin himself.³⁴ It enjoyed an early and wide dissemination on the Continent, where it underwent constant revision and adaptation according to the requirements of the church where it was used.³⁵ In its original eighty-two-line form, MCY commemorated a substantial number of Northumbrian saints, Cuthbert among them. Predictably, in many of the continental redactions of MCY most, or at least some, of these saints were jettisoned.³⁶ However, Cuthbert is the one Northumbrian saint who is retained almost invariably. We may assume, therefore, that Cuthbert was widely known and commemorated, if not culted, in ninth- to eleventh-century Europe.

When we ask what the reasons were for the special treatment accorded to Cuthbert, the answer probably lies with his hagiography. The three Lives of St Cuthbert all circulated in numerous continental copies. The anonymous prose Life survives in eight manuscripts.³⁷ Seven of these manuscripts are continental copies, preserved in continental libraries. Only one manuscript (Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 1029 (812)) may, conceivably, have been written in England, since it was one of the books which were given by Abbot Sxwold of Bath to the church of St Vaast in Arras, in about 1070.³⁸ Two recensions of Bede's metrical uita were in existence, as has been shown by Michael Lapidge. The earlier of these is preserved in a single manuscript (now Besançon, Bibliothèque municipale, 186) of West German origin and mid-ninth-century date.³⁹ Besançon 186 was probably 'copied from a (lost) exemplar in Anglo-Saxon minuscule originating from the area of the Anglo-Saxon mission and dating from the second half of the eighth century'.⁴⁰ It is possible that this earlier Besançon redaction was known both to Alcuin and his younger contemporary JEdiluulf, but otherwise no trace of this version seems to have survived in England.⁴¹ At some point in the second decade of the eighth century Bede produced a revised version of his poem (the so-called 'vulgate redaction': see above, p. 68), which is preserved in some twenty English and continental manuscripts. ¹² The earliest manuscript (surviving as a number of membra disiecta) dates from the second half of the eighth century and was perhaps written at Fulda.⁴³ Seven of the remaining nineteen manuscripts were incontestably written in continental centres; four of these date from the ninth century, with two having made their way to England by the earlier tenth century.

A similar picture emerges from the manuscripts of Bede's prose uita. Although a far larger number of manuscripts than for the other two uitae has survived,⁴⁴ the early transmissional history of VCP is unfortunately obscured by the fact that none of these manuscripts dates from before the tenth century. Nevertheless, it is clear that VCP circulated widely and in a distinctive textual redaction on the Continent. ⁴⁵ From the foregoing observations it will be clear that information about Cuthbert and his saintly activities had spread on the Continent at an early date, even if, in the present state of our knowledge, we remain in the dark concerning when and to what extent he was fully culted there. It will be equally clear that, from its very beginning and especially after the impetus of the Anglo-Saxon mission had ebbed away, the commemoration of St Cuthbert depended decisively on texts, and on literary texts rather than on

liturgical ones: the Metrical Calendar of York and the three Lives of the saint.

We may now turn to 'Elfric's homeland, Wessex, to examine some of the shaping forces which transformed Cuthbert into a saint of such universal veneration that Elfric admitted him to the sanctorale of his Catholic Homilies as the one saint of English extraction.

THE CULT IN WESSEX

The most famous witness to the cult of St Cuthbert which was produced in Wessex is no doubt Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183, the manuscript given by King Æthelstan (924-39) to the community of St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street, at some point between 934 and 939, and containing Bede's two Lives and some liturgical material relevant to Cuthbert's cult.⁴⁶ Is Corpus 183 then a testimony to the cult of St Cuthbert being established in Wessex in the early tenth century in one way or another, or does the manuscript merely reflect the political deliberations of the 'first king of all England' and his advisers, aiming to secure the goodwill towards a southern regime from an influential party in the North? If Corpus 183 is a reflection of an established cult in Wessex, when did it first take roots there? It has been suggested that Boniface, while still in his native Wessex, may have been familiar with Cuthbert's cult, and that he took some liturgical material pertinent to this cult and of Wessex origin with him when he left England for the Continent.⁴ Such an assumption cannot be proved, however, and we have seen (above, pp. 70-3) that Cuthbert's cult on the Continent may equally have been introduced in the wake of Anglo-Saxon (Northumbrian) influence emanating from Alcuin's presence at Charlemagne's court. We have also seen that Boniface was introduced to Bede's writings and hence to the most important Cuthbert material (the Lives, the relevant sections of the *Historic ecclesiastics*) only late in life, and that he and his successor Lul (also of West Saxon extraction) wrote to Northumbria to obtain works of Bede.⁴⁸

The *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*

There is, however, one well-known text purporting to testify to the veneration of St Cuthbert by a pre-eminent West Saxon in the late ninth century: the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (HSC). But there are severe difficulties in interpreting this text. An episode in the HSC relates how Cuthbert, disguised as a pilgrim, appeared to King Alfred

in his darkest hours, when the king was hiding away in the Somerset marshes. Cuthbert asked for food, but when Alfred readily agreed to share what little he had with his guest, he found that his visitor had miraculously disappeared. Later that day the king's men returned from fishing with a large catch of fish miraculously caught, and in the following night Cuthbert appeared again to Alfred in a dream, this time revealing his identity, giving instructions on how to deal with the Vikings, and promising a decisive victory for Alfred's army in a pending battle as well as the extension of the king's power and that of his successors over the whole of Britain. All these prophecies were duly fulfilled, and many years later, on his deathbed, King Alfred exhorted his son and successor Edward to love Cuthbert and set his hope in him as he himself had done during all his life.

The anonymous HSC is an account of the history of the church of St Cuthbert and its possessions up to the middle of the tenth century, with an appendix covering the period from the early to the mid-eleventh century.⁹ While the annex obviously cannot have been composed before the second half of the eleventh century, there is some debate as to whether the main parts of HSC date from a point shortly after the mid-tenth century, or whether these too were written in the eleventh century. Currently, historians seem inclined to ascribe the whole text to the second half of the eleventh century.⁵¹¹ In any case, the Cuthbert-Alfred episode has traditionally been dated to the eleventh century, since Cuthbert prophesies Alfred's victory not at Edington (as would be expected) but 'apud montem Assandune',⁵¹ that is, at Ashingdon, where Cnut defeated Edmund Ironside in 1016.⁵² However, for our interest in uncovering possible traces of a cult of Cuthbert in Wessex in the late ninth century, it is not of primary importance whether the written version of this episode dates from the second half of the tenth or from the eleventh century, since in both cases a considerable lapse of time would have occurred between the event and the retelling. How, then, are we to gauge the evidence of this episode? The HSC is not the only text which tells the episode. By the early twelfth century, for example, a Durham tradition had developed which referred to and amplified the story. It is considerably expanded in the anonymous *Capitula de miraculis et translationibus Cuthberti*,⁵³ and the episode as told in HSC and the *Miracula* is laid under contribution by Symeon of Durham in his *History of the Church of Durham*.⁵⁴ William of Malmesbury told or referred to the story on three occasions, differing in a number of details from the Durham sources.⁵⁵ William, for example, adds the interesting details that Alfred founded Athelney in fulfilment of a vow he had made on the occasion of Cuthbert's appearance to him,⁵⁶ and

that Alfred himself, in his later years, enjoyed telling the story to friends.⁵⁷ William's remarks point to an oral origin and early circulation of the story, just such an origin as must be presumed for the more famous story of Alfred burning the cakes,⁵⁸ and, perhaps, for St Neot's less well-known appearance to Alfred, also in connection with Edington.⁵⁹ In this congestion of saints advising Alfred on how to fight the battle of Edington, priority must, however, be conceded to Cuthbert. His communications with Alfred are much better attested than those of St Neot, and it is even possible that the (probably) mid-eleventh-century author of the Neot vita simply adapted the story of Cuthbert's appearance for his own saint. 60

Among all this material attesting to the currency of the story in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, there is one text alluding to the Cuthbert-Alfred episode which takes us back further than those mentioned so far, and which, possibly, is based on a written source originating in Alfred's time. The early sections of the *Historia regum*, formerly attributed to Symeon of Durham, are now securely ascribed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey (c. 970-c. 1020).⁶¹ For that part of the *Historia* where the allusion to the Cuthbert-Alfred episode occurs, Byrhtferth drew on Asser's *Life of Alfred*, who in turn had based himself (in his chs. 1-86) on a version of the Anglo-Saxon *Chronicle*. It is possible, however, that in addition to Asser, Byrhtferth also drew on a (now lost) version of the *Chronicle*.⁶² The episode as given by Byrhtferth is very brief and shorn of all detail:

*Rex Elfredus apto confortatus oraculo per sanctum Cuthbertum, contra Danos pugnavit, et, quo ipse sanctus iusserat tempore et loco, victoria potitus est, semperque deinceps hostibus terribilis et inuincibilis erat, sanctumque Cuthbertum praecipue honori habuerat.*⁶³

King Alfred, having been suitably consoled in a prophecy by St Cuthbert, fought against the Danes, and, at the time and place which the saint had determined, won a victory, and forever thereafter was terrible and invincible to his enemies and held St Cuthbert in especial veneration.

The above quotation is inserted between two passages drawn almost verbatim from Asser,⁶⁴ and its sober, factual tone arguably points to an entry which Byrhtferth lifted from his hypothetical chronicle source. ⁶⁵ Taken in combination, much of the evidence may suggest a ninth-century Wessex origin of the story: Byrhtferth's lost source, the possible tinkering with the Cuthbert-Alfred episode to transform it

into a Neot-Alfred episode, and William of Malmesbury's assertion that King Alfred himself often indulged in retelling his vision, as well as William's own narrative of the episode, which appears to be independent of the northern sources.⁶⁶ Furthermore, in the eleventh century (the presumed date of the HSC) King Alfred's role in the formation of the late Anglo-Saxon state was not yet universally received; therefore, there would have been no plausible reason for the local guardians of the cult of the greatest northern saint to invent a story which associated [their saint with the West Saxon king](#).⁶⁷ On the other hand, no evidence has so far come to light, nor are there any historical reasons to suggest, that Cuthbert was culted widely, if at all, in Wessex during Alfred's reign, which in turn lends probability to the assertions by Byrhtferth and William of Malmesbury that the king had a special and personal veneration for St Cuthbert.

Alfred and Cuthbert

How, we must now ask, did Alfred acquire his knowledge of the northern saint, and why did he develop an especial veneration for him? As in the case of the cult of Cuthbert on the Continent, we may suspect that the extensive hagiography on Cuthbert will have played a decisive role. There is reason to believe that some of this hagiography was available in Wessex during Alfred's reign. Thus, a copy of the *Metrical Calendar of York*, with its commemoration of St Cuthbert (see above, p. 72-3), may possibly have been among the books which Grimbold of Saint-Bertin brought to England, when, in 885 or 886, he followed Alfred's invitation to help with his programme of intellectual reform.⁶⁸ This much is suggested by the so-called 'Metrical Calendar of Hampson', a hexametrical calendar with entries for all 365 days of the year, based on a continental (not an English) redaction of MCY, and originating in the first decade of the tenth century, that is, during the reign of Alfred's successor, Edward the Elder.⁶⁹ With regard to Bede's *Lives*, we have seen that the transmissional history of the prose *uita*, up to the earlier tenth century, is unclear. So we remain in the dark about its availability at Alfred's court. As to the metrical *Life*, at least one of the two continental manuscripts now preserved in British libraries had possibly travelled to England during Alfred's reign: London, BL, Harley 526, written in northeastern Francia in the second half, probably the last quarter, of the ninth century.⁷⁰ There is no ambiguity, however, about the availability of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* with its longish account of Cuthbert's life and miracles.⁷¹ An English recension of this work survived the Viking raids,⁷² and a Latin copy of the *Historia ecclesiastica* served as the exemplar for the

Old English Bede, an anonymous prose translation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* which must be associated with Alfred's reform and translation programme. Interestingly, the chapters pertaining to Cuthbert (IV.26[24]-32{30}) are translated without significant omissions, whereas in other respects the Old English Bede presents a drastically abbreviated version.⁷³

It might be argued that all these texts did not reach Alfred's court before the mid-880s, when his reform and translation programme was beginning in earnest, whereas his vision of Cuthbert (and hence his veneration of the saint) is associated with the battle of Edington in 878. However, one should not wholly exclude the possibility that the link between Edington and Cuthbert's appearance to Alfred may have been forged by the oral element in the early transmission of the episode. One might also point out that a desire for books and learning had been characteristic of Alfred ever since his infancy, as is well attested by Asser,⁷⁴ and that, since the West Saxon royal household was not entirely without books, Alfred might have become acquainted with Cuthbert material sometime before his reform programme was fully underway. In this connection it should be noted that all three references to his *uitae* which Bede inserted into his account of Cuthbert in the *Historia ecclesiastica* are translated in the Old English Bede: knowledge of the existence of Bede's *uitae* could therefore have been gleaned from the account in the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁷⁵ The Cuthbert hagiography (Bede's own and that of the Lindisfarne anonymous) is given further prominence by Bede referring to it also in his Preface to the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Again, the passage is translated in the Old English Bede.⁷⁶

There can be no doubt that Cuthbert's life would have held much interest for Alfred: a life of austerity and self-inflicted physical tribulations; an intense conflict between the irresistible desire for the *uita contentplatiua* and the demands and distractions which the *uita actiua* in the form of abbatial and episcopal responsibilities inflicted upon the saint, and the unflinching obedience with which he bowed to the yoke of these responsibilities, implementing them in full accordance with Pope Gregory's ideal of spiritual leadership - each of these facets of Cuthbert's biography touched concepts which were close to Alfred's heart throughout his life. Information conveyed by his continental helpers Grimbald and John, about the reputation Cuthbert enjoyed on the Continent, would certainly have increased the king's interest in the saint. Nevertheless, the king's personal devotion to St Cuthbert must, in the present stage of our knowledge, remain an

attractive but unprovable hypothesis.

Æthelstan and Cuthbert

King Æthelstan's books

We have no knowledge whether devotion to Cuthbert in the royal household was carried on into the reign of Alfred's son Edward the Elder, apart from the general observation that the intellectual and spiritual preoccupations of Alfred's reign seem to have persisted into the reign of his successor.⁷⁷ Our first testimony, unequivocal and important, to Cuthbert's cult, and of Wessex origin, comes from the reign of Alfred's grandson, King Æthelstan: the aforementioned manuscript Corpus 183.⁷⁸ However, the Corpus manuscript was not the only book given by Æthelstan to the community at Chester-le-Street to contain Cuthbert material. London, BL, Cotton Otho B. ix was a continental gospel book written, probably in Brittany, in the late ninth or early tenth century. It was badly damaged in the Cotton fire, surviving only in twelve charred and shrivelled fragments.⁷⁹ Apparently, the manuscript was given to Chester-le-Street in the summer of 934, when Æthelstan and his army were en route for Scotland. Among various additions, Otho B. ix contained two entries, presumably made in the first half of the tenth century, which link the manuscript to King Æthelstan: on fol. lv, a hymn or prayer in which Cuthbert is invoked several times and, added to this, a kind of colophon stating that on 1 July (in a year unspecified) a Bishop Benedict had this prayer entered into the book in honour of St Cuthbert. These entries furnish the principal evidence that the manuscript was indeed donated to Chester-le-Street in the summer of 934.⁸⁰ The original manuscript was lavishly illustrated with portraits of the Evangelists, and immediately before the portrait of St Matthew, on an added leaf, King Æthelstan was depicted offering the book to St Cuthbert. Both were identified by an inscription: 'Sancto Cudberhto episcopo Eathelstan Anglorum piissimus rex hoc euuangelium offert.' This portrait is now lost but, according to the descriptions by Thomas Smith in the catalogue of Cottonian manuscripts and by Humfrey Wanley in his catalogue, it was made much in the fashion of the famous dedication picture in Corpus 183.⁸¹

This second manuscript (Corpus 183) which King Æthelstan gave to Chester-le-Street seems to have been especially commissioned for the community of St Cuthbert. It was written and decorated in an Anglo-Saxon scriptorium, very possibly Glastonbury, and sent to the North at some point between the summer of 934 and October 939 (Æthelstan's

death).⁸² Corpus 183 may rightly be called a Cuthbert dossier. Its principal contents are as follows: the famous dedication picture (lv) showing King Æthelstan presenting the book to St Cuthbert himself;⁸³ Bede's prose uita (2r-56r), followed by chs. 31 and 32 of book IV of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (56r-58r), containing the additional post-mortem miracles (see above, p. 68); Bede's metrical uita (71r-92v), preceded by a glossary of difficult words in the metrical Life (70r-v);⁸⁴ and a mass and Office for St Cuthbert (92v-95v).

It is time now to ask: is Corpus 183 exclusively or predominantly a political document or does it also attest to Æthelstan's veneration of the saint as seems to be suggested by its dedication picture (and that of its companion volume Otho B. ix)? The community of St Cuthbert no doubt was a party of considerable political influence in the far North, even if there are signs that it may have experienced a period of intellectual stagnation, perhaps even decay, while residing at Chester-le-Street.⁸⁵ Æthelstan was the first southern king to extend his rule north of the Humber, and when he visited Chester-le-Street in 934, the annexation of Northumbria had been achieved only seven years earlier. Æthelstan himself may well have sensed that the new polity, the 'Kingdom of the English', was still in a precarious state, and that the 'Northumbrian problem' was to persist for many decades.⁸⁶ So the books and other precious gifts which he lavished on Cuthbert's community may have been made principally to ingratiate himself and his regime with some of the Northumbrian powerbrokers, letting them glimpse by the same exercise something of his sophisticated southern court culture.⁸⁷ On the other hand, Æthelstan's personal piety is well attested: he is styled 'Rex plus Æthelstan' ('holy King Æthelstan') in one of the poems composed in his honour,⁸⁸ and he acquired renown as an eager collector of relics, which he donated to religious institutions as freely as the books he had collected.⁸⁹

The Office in Corpus 183

The best evidence to the existence of a cult of St Cuthbert in Wessex is provided by the mass and Office in Corpus 183. To what purpose were they copied into the manuscript? The community of St Cuthbert will surely have possessed such indispensable liturgical pieces for a saint's cult, and if, as is probable, Corpus 183 was donated sometime after Æthelstan's visit to the shrine in 934, the king will have had first-hand knowledge of their liturgical commemoration of the saint.⁹⁰ What would be the point in copying their mass and Office and then sending them back to the North?⁹¹ If, on the other hand, the mass and Office

were of Wessex origin, their presence in Corpus 183 would make eminent good sense, documenting to the community at Chester-le-Street the veneration in which their saint was held in the South. In fact, a Wessex origin seems to be borne out by what post-Conquest evidence we have of the liturgical commemoration of Cuthbert, and, consequently, a Wessex origin for mass and Office has been assumed from an early stage onwards.⁹² The evidence of the mass is difficult to evaluate: various masses for Cuthbert have been preserved in some pre-Conquest and many post-Conquest sacramentaries and missals, and these masses often appear to be pastiches assembling prayers drawn from various sources. In other words, the origin and dissemination of the masses for St Cuthbert are in need of further clarification, and, therefore, the mass in Corpus 183 will not here be considered any further.⁹³ By contrast, the evidence of the Office seems to be relatively clear and straightforward. After the Conquest it was adopted into liturgical use in Durham, from whence it fathered a large family of texts, their dependence on Corpus 183 being clear from a distinctive error which these texts share with the Corpus manuscript.⁹⁴ But the Office in a redaction similar to, but not derived in direct line from, Corpus 183 was also in use in the South in the tenth century. This redaction has survived in two closely related manuscripts from Canterbury: London, BL, Harley 1117 (s. x/xi, probably from Christ Church), and Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 204 (s. xii from *St Augustine's*, preserved in fragmentary form).⁹⁵ It is a great pity that the Office in Corpus 183 has never been printed integrally. The form in which it is accessible to the modern reader - namely in the collations by Hohler and Sole -⁹⁶ disguises an important fact: the Office in Corpus 183 is clearly intended for secular, not for monastic use.⁹⁷ By contrast, the post-Conquest texts ultimately deriving from Corpus 183 are adapted to monastic use, as are the two surviving manuscripts of the southern redaction.

Mirum dictu hinc egresso et oranti genu flexo
membra refouent rigida equoris animalia.

The difference between the secular and monastic forms of the Divine Office is seen most clearly in the three Nocturns during Matins on Sundays and feast days.⁹⁸ The core of secular Matins consists of three Nocturns, each with three psalms and three antiphons; followed by three lessons, each with a responsory and its verse. By comparison,

monastic Matins consist of equally three Nocturns, but each of the first two Nocturns has six psalms and six antiphons, and four lessons with four responsories with their verses, whereas the third Nocturn has three monastic Canticles with one antiphon and also four lessons with four responsories (and verses). What Corpus 183 presents are three Nocturns, each with three psalms and antiphons and three responsories and verses (the lessons are not specified): it therefore presents unmistakably the secular form of Matins. The antiphons and responsories all refer to events which are told in the Lives of Cuthbert,⁹⁹ and, significantly, they follow rather closely the order in which these events are related in the *uitae*. This chronological principle has been obscured by the later adjustment to monastic use which necessitated a rearrangement and the introduction of additional antiphons and responsories. ^{10°} It is clear, therefore, that the order of events referred to in the antiphons and responsories helps to establish the original form of the Office. In the following table I give a synopsis of the antiphons and responsories for the three Nocturns as found in Corpus 183, and of the chapters in VCP to which they refer. ¹⁰¹

Liturgical form	Section in Hohler	Chapter in VCP
IA	60	1
IA	61	2
IA	62	3
IR	68	4
IR	70	6
IR	72	7
IIA	63	10
IIA	64	10
IIA	65	10
IIR	74	11
IIR	83	16, 9 (vaguely)
IIR	85	13 + 14
IIIA	75	15
IIIA	76	16
IIIA	77	16
IIIR	87	24
IIIR	89	29, 30, 31, 32, 33
IIIR	98	28, 34, 37

Is it possible to be more precise concerning which of the three *uitae* is referred to in the antiphons and responsories? Given the summary character of the brief antiphons and responsories, and given the fact that most of the events and miracles are recorded in all three Lives, in most cases each of the *uitae* could have served as a source referred to in the Office. Nevertheless, the anonymous *uita* seems to be excluded on the grounds of two miracles which are alluded to in a responsory but which are not found in VCA. (This result comes not unexpectedly, perhaps, when we recall that VCP and VCM are the main contents of Corpus 183.) Cf. the following remark (as part of a responsory):

Cuthbertus ... patremfamilias pane a se benedicto pristino reddidit sanitati.¹⁰² 'By bread which had been blessed by him Cuthbert restored the father of a household to his former health.'

This refers to ch. 31 in VCP and ch. 25 in VCM, but the miracle is not

in VCA.103 It may seem hazardous at first sight to go further in an attempt to ascertain which of Bede's two Lives was laid under contribution by the composer of the Office. Astonishingly, in spite of the extreme brevity of the text of the antiphons and responsories, often summarizing one or more of the chapters of the uita, there are manifest verbal reminiscences, and what reminiscences there are seem to point to the metrical Life as the primary source. Consider the following examples:¹⁰⁴

1. Qui Raphaelem archangelum Tobie dedit medicum (p. 170, sect. 61)

`Who sent the archangel Raphael as a physician to Tobias'

VCM has the verbal parallels *medicum* and *Tobiae* (lines 92 and 94), whereas VCP partially agrees in the phrase `*Raphaelem archangelum ad sanandos Tobiae uisus*' (ch. 2, p. 160). Here the evidence is not clear: the author may have lifted *medicum* from VCM and substituted from his knowledge of the Bible that the *medicus* in question was the archangel Raphael; he may equally have lifted *Raphaelem archangelum* from VCP and substituted *medicum* as a natural inference, or he may have conflated the memorized readings from both texts.

2. *peruigil nocturnis insistens ympnis* (p. 171, sect. 68)

`keeping vigil with nocturnal hymns'

uigil nocturnis cernit in hymnis (VCM, line 121) `as he keeps vigil with nocturnal hymns, he sees'

ipse ... peruigil in oratione duraret (VCP, ch. 4, p. 164) `he himself was keeping watch and praying'

In this case the evidence is clearly in favour of VCM.

3. *In sanctis crescens uirtutibus almus uir Cuthbertus ... factus est monachus.*

Corpore mente habitu factisque probabilibus castris dominicis associatus (p. 171, sect. 70)

`Increasing in holy virtues the holy man Cuthbert ... was made a monk. He is attached in body, mind, habit, and deed to worthy houses of God.'

In VCP the confusion of VCM concerning when and where Cuthbert took the monastic habit is clarified. VCM reports (ch. 6) the miracle of the warm loaves and seems to presuppose that Cuthbert was already a monk at that time (cf. line 171: 'Diuinis horam dum sacrat laudibus almus', 'while the holy man hallows the hour in heavenly praise'). VCM then goes on to report (ch. 7) that Cuthbert joined the monks at Ripon where straightaway he became guestmaster and an angel appeared to him in form of a guest. VCP, however, makes it quite clear that at the time of the warm loaves miracle Cuthbert was still a layman (ch. 5); that, at some later point, he took the monastic habit at Melrose (ch. 6); and that subsequently he went to Ripon with Abbot Eata and several other monks, where the angel appeared to him while he was guestmaster there (ch. 7). Section 70 of the Office appears to be indebted to the clarified narrative of VCP,¹⁰⁵ but the verbal (as opposed to the structural) debt in sect. 70 is unmistakably to VCM:

monachis Hrypensibus almus / Corpore, mente, habitu, factisque adiungitur (VCM, lines 180-1)

'the holy man is attached in body, mind, habit and deed to the monks of Ripon'

The following quotation alludes to the angel appearing to Cuthbert while guestmaster at Ripon:

4. Digreditur namque uir Dei panem cupiens deferre calentem, sed rediens nequaquam inuenit conuiuiam (p. 171, sect. 72).

'Indeed the man of God goes off seeking to bring back some warm bread, but when he returns he does not find the guest anymore.'

Digreditur cupiens panem deferre calentem. Conuiuiam rediens quaerit, sed nulla uiantis. Signa pedum niueo quoquam conspexit in aruo. (VCM, lines 196-9). '(Cuthbert) goes off seeking to bring back some warm bread ... On returning he looks for his guest, but sees no traces of the traveller's footsteps anywhere in the snowy field.'

VCP (ch. 7) does not present any verbal parallels to the passage in question. Cf. also in the present sect. 72: 'supernum ciuem' (with respect to the angel in disguise), 'gaudens' (with respect to Cuthbert) and VCM, line 184: 'gaudens' (Cuthbert), 'ciuem' (the angel), whereas VCP (ch. 7) repeatedly refers to the angel as 'iuuenis'.

5. Positis namque genibus oracionem fudit (p. 171, sect. 74)

'he fell on his knees and poured forth a prayer'

Et genibus dominum positus ueneratus adorat (VCM, line 281) 'and in veneration he falls on his knees to pray to the Lord'

flexisque genibus gratias egerunt Domino (VCP, ch. 11, p. 194) 'and kneeling down they gave thanks to God'

Again, the verbal debt is clearly to VCM.

One of the reasons for such verbal borrowings from VCM by the author of the Office in Corpus 183 is no doubt that the Office in that manuscript is a rhymed Office, which is a remarkable fact per se and (as we shall see) sheds valuable light on the intellectual ambience in which the Office originated. A rhymed Office was usually composed to give especial prominence to a saint's feast day; except for the psalms, lessons and prayers, all its other parts were written in metrical or rhythmical and rhyming lines (or in rhymed prose). The rhymed Office was a form of liturgical commemoration which during the early Middle Ages never gained general currency, and by the 930s (the time when Corpus 183 was written) it was a novel and extravagant form practised in a few centres on the Continent.¹⁰⁶ The two earliest authors of rhymed Offices known by name are Radbod, bishop of Utrecht (899-917) and Stephen, bishop of Liege (901-20).¹⁰⁷ In the first half of the tenth century, St Gallen seems to have become an active centre for the production of rhymed Offices: no fewer than four texts which were produced there have survived.¹⁰⁸

As an agent through which this latest liturgical fashion from the Continent might have reached England one thinks immediately of Bishop Koenwald of Worcester (928/9-58), who seems to have enjoyed a close relationship with King Æthelstan, and who, in 929, was sent to the Continent, presumably on royal business, where he visited 'all the monasteries throughout Germany'. Towards the end of his trip he stayed for an unspecified period of time at St Gallen, where his name, together with that of King Æthelstan and the names of six other English visitors, were entered into the monastery's confraternity book for remembrance in the monks' prayers.¹⁰⁹ One may note in this connection that Bishop Koenwald quite possibly drafted the so-called 'alliterative charters' issued in the 940s and 950s by Æthelstan's successors, kings Edmund and Eadred, thereby revealing an interest in a rhetorical and stylistic embellishment of functional prose. ¹¹⁰ By the same token, the fact that he seems to have preferred to have his name (in his attestation of charters) spelled with <k>: Koenwald,

which is an eccentricity in Old English, but common in Old High German, betrays an interest in language and matters of linguistic detail."

In any event, whoever may have been responsible for introducing into England the continental fashion of writing rhymed Offices for saints who were especially venerated in a locality, there can be no doubt that this ambitious liturgical form would have been consonant with the stylistic aspirations and predilections which were fostered at IÆthelstan's court, in particular the cultivation of the hermeneutic style and the study of its principal proponent, Aldhelm.¹¹² Even though Bede is clearly not a practitioner of the hermeneutic style, it is interesting to note that his VCM, on which the Office in Corpus 183 draws so heavily, is, by its terse and oblique diction, a very difficult poem (see below, pp. 117-22). It is further noteworthy that also the assemblage of texts in Corpus 183 - the prose and metrical Lives of Cuthbert, followed by an Office for his feast day - may have been inspired by continental models, where a rhymed Office or *historia* was not infrequently combined in a manuscript with a prose and verse Life of the saint in question. ¹¹³

In addition to these considerations of intellectual preoccupation and stylistic aspiration, there is also a liturgical point which would appear to link the origin of the Office in Corpus 183 with King IÆthelstan's court. As we have seen (above, p. 87), the Office is composed for use by secular clerics, not by monks. The scriptorium, however, which has the best claim to have produced Corpus 183 is Glastonbury. Although we cannot be entirely sure, there is evidence to suggest that already in the 930s the Glastonbury community followed the *Regula Sancti Benedicti*, which (in chs. 11 and 14) prescribed a form of Nocturns different from that practised in the secular Office."⁴ In other words, the secular form of the Office in Corpus 183 is a further indication of its origin in IÆthelstan's royal household. Subsequently, its text would have been brought to Glastonbury, together with the regnal and episcopal lists also contained in Corpus 183 to be copied there into a manuscript produced for presentation to the community at Chester-le-Street.¹⁵

To sum up: the fact that King TÆthelstan with all his expertise in the cult of saints should have singled out Cuthbert for such special attention in a prestigious manuscript surely reveals his deep personal devotion to the saint. Quite possibly, such devotion had its roots in his grandfather Alfred's veneration of St Cuthbert: Alfredian roots may be detected in other aspects of EÆthelstan's court culture.¹¹⁶ How

intensely Bede's Lives of Cuthbert were studied in 'Ethelstan's court circles emerges from the way they (and especially VCM) are laid under contribution in the rhymed Office. The verbal reminiscences in the Office leave one with the firm impression that its author has not been searching Bede's poem for phrases suitable to be recycled in his own text. Rather, these adumbrations point to an intimate familiarity with the poem, as a result of which memorized passages came readily to the author's mind in the course of composition. Similarly, the glossary of arcane and difficult words in VCM (see above, p. 84) points to a close scholarly study of Bede's poem. So there can be little doubt that the cult of St Cuthbert and the study of his hagiography played an important role at King zEthelstan's court.

The `Kingdom of the English'

But was the cult of St Cuthbert a popular cult as well? How far had it spread in southern England during IEthelstan's reign? We cannot say: no liturgical manuscripts have survived from this reign, nor do we have any other evidence pointing to a widespread cult of Cuthbert in the South. However, here as elsewhere, we may be permitted to see IEthelstan's court as the springboard for developments which came to full fruition in the later tenth century. Two of the future leaders of the Benedictine reform, Dunstan and lEthelwold, spent their formative years in King i thelstan's entourage,¹¹⁷ and one may suspect that (as with the study of Aldhelm) the active promotion of Cuthbert's cult in that ambience will have had a longlasting impact on both. Apart from Cuthbert's exemplary and saintly life, various other elements in his cult will have appealed to the Benedictine reformers as strongly as such elements had appealed previously to King ,Ethelstan, his advisers and the scholars in his entourage. Cuthbert was one of the very few English saints to be widely known, commemorated and, to some extent, even culted on the Continent. The outward prestige of the English church and of the newly created `Kingdom of the English' certainly mattered to political and ecclesiastical circles during iEthelstan's reign as much as in the heyday of the reform movement. Furthermore, Cuthbert was distinguished by having his uita written by one of the most highly esteemed authors of the early Middle Ages. Finally, Bede's comments concerning Cuthbert's standing in the community of saints will not have failed to make an impression on tenth-century readers. In his Preface to VCM, Bede asserts that Cuthbert is for the whole of Britain what SS Peter and Paul were for Rome, the apostles John and Mark for Asia and the regions of the Nile' respectively, St Bartholomew for India, St Cyprian for Africa, St Hilary

for Poitiers and John Chrysostom for Constantinople.¹¹⁸ The illustrious company in which Cuthbert is here placed, and the fact that Bede conceived of him as a saint illuminating the whole of Britain (and not only its northern regions), will have captured the active interest of a tenth-century readership:

Nec iam orbis contenta sinu trans aequora lampas
Spargitur effulgens, huiusque Britannia consors
Temporibus genuit fulgur uenerabile nostril, Aurea
qua Cuthbertus agens per sidera uitam Scandere
celsa Buis docuit iam passibus Anglos.

(VCM, lines 25-9)

‘And this radiance, no longer content in the lap of the old world, is shed gleaming across the water, and Britain, now participating in it, gives birth in our own days to the holy splendour whereby Cuthbert, an inhabitant of the golden stars, teaches the English to ascend on high by following in his footsteps.’

The newly forged ‘Kingdom of the English’ needed pan-English saints to form what in modern jargon would be called ‘a corporate identity’, and Cuthbert, not having been actively involved in contemporary politics, had a better potential to be developed into such a truly pan-English saint than (say) kings Oswald of Northumbria or Edmund of East Anglia, both of whom were firmly rooted in the history of their respective peoples.

Evidence for the cult in Late Anglo-Saxon England

Evidence from Late Anglo-Saxon England indicates that the promotion of Cuthbert as a saint for all the English and as one of the pillars of the English church was a great success story. The fact that the two other surviving preConquest manuscripts of the Office (Harley 1117 and Reg. lat. 204) were written at Canterbury¹¹⁹ may reflect something of Dunstan’s interest in the cult of Cuthbert. And this suspicion may be confirmed when we consider that in both manuscripts the Office is part of a Cuthbert libellus (as in Corpus 183): Harley 1117 transmits Bede’s metrical and prose Lives; in its present fragmentary state the Vatican manuscript contains the metrical Life only, followed by the Office (incomplete), but it may once have contained the prose Life as well. Significantly, perhaps, the text of the metrical Life in both manuscripts is closely related, presenting what has been described as the ‘Canterbury redaction’ of VCM, so called because of the presumed

Canterbury origin of all four manuscripts exhibiting this text-form. The 'Canterbury redaction' must have been in existence by the 950s.¹²⁰

For 'Ethelwold's interest in establishing Cuthbert as a pan-English saint, we have incontestable evidence from his Benedictional (BL, Additional 49598). Here Cuthbert appears in a very prominent position: in one of the introductory miniatures, that of the 'Choir of Confessors' (fol. lv), he is grouped together with SS Benedict and Gregory. The heads and shoulders of four further confessors fill in the background, but these three are the only confessors to be depicted full length and to be identified by having their names written on their maniples.¹²¹ It is interesting to note that, in spite of the prominence given to St Cuthbert in this introductory miniature, in the text of the Benedictional there are no specific episcopal blessings for his feast day and hence no feast picture.¹²² On the evidence of the 'Choir of Confessors' miniature, there can be little doubt that Cuthbert was liturgically commemorated in 'Ethelwold's Winchester; presumably, therefore, the Benedictional's unspecified blessings for 'One Bishop Confessor'¹²³ will have been pronounced on his feast day. This discrepancy between Cuthbert's prominent appearance in the Benedictional's iconographic programme and his commemoration by unspecified blessings may suggest that, in the early 970s (when the Benedictional probably was produced) ¹²⁴ the popularization of Cuthbert's cult and his fully fledged liturgical commemoration were still 'under construction' in Winchester circles. Equally, since no sacramentaries or missals from 'Ethelwold's Winchester have survived, we cannot say whether Cuthbert was commemorated therein by his own mass set or whether here, too, the mass for 'One Confessor' would have been said.¹²⁵ From the eleventh century various masses for St Cuthbert have been preserved in sacramentaries and missals, which clearly attest to the wide dissemination of his cult also in the South.¹²⁶ It is noteworthy that Cuthbert is commemorated with a mass set each for his deposition (20 March) and his translation (4 September) in the eleventh-century New Minster Missal (now Le Havre, Bibliotheque municipale, 33 0),¹²⁷ and that in the so-called Missal of Robert of Jumieges (now Rouen, Bibliotheque municipale, 274 (Y6) written, presumably, at Peterborough or Ely) he is commemorated with a mass set for his deposition and with two entries (deposition and translation) in the accompanying calendar, the deposition being noted there in gold uncials (a distinction accorded to exceedingly few English saints in that calendar). ¹²¹¹ Such evidence may suggest that the cult of St Cuthbert flourished especially in

monasteries and churches in the Winchester ambit, but this can be no more than a suspicion.

From the ambit of the third of the Benedictine reformers, Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961-92) and archbishop of York (971-92), comes a further suggestive piece of evidence for Cuthbert's cult in the South. In his *Vita S. Oswaldi*, Byrhtferth of Ramsey relates a miracle performed by Oswald on the occasion of one of his visits to Ramsey, when, by his prayers, he prevented a boat, overloaded with monks, from sinking. Oswald's miracle evokes in Byrhtferth reminiscences of a similar miracle worked by Cuthbert:

*Quod sanctissimus uir Cuthbertus oratione impetrauit a Domino, sicut canitur, dum iactantur puppe{s} salo. Sanctus solo mox orat, uentorum uis motata, nauis uertit ad litora.*¹²⁹

`(A similar miracle) the most holy man Cuthbert obtained from the Lord through his prayers, as is sung [in an antiphon]: "While the ships are being tossed by the sea, the holy man (prostrate) on the ground, prays at once, and the power of the winds having abated, the boat returns to the shore."

This is clearly a (somewhat garbled) quotation of an antiphon from the rhymed Office for St Cuthbert, which in turn alludes to ch. 3 of the metrical Life:

Dum iactantur puppes salo sanctus orans heret solo

*Mox uentorum uis mutata naues uertit ad litora.*¹³⁰

*'While the ships [i.e. 'rafts' in context] are tossed by the sea, the saint in prayer clings to the earth; the power of the winds having swiftly changed, the ship returns to the shore.'*¹³¹

So we may assume that on Cuthbert's feast day Bishop Oswald's monks chanted the rhymed Office which probably was composed in King IÆthelstan's entourage.

One of our most reliable witnesses to the universality which the cult of Cuthbert had attained by the turn of the millennium is, however, 'Elfric himself. His *Life of Cuthbert* was written for the Second Series

of the

Catholic Homilies, where it is joined by the Lives of two other saints of paramount importance for the English church, Gregory and Benedict, to form a sequence of *uitae adumbrating the important miniature of the 'Choir of Confessors' in IEthelwold's Benedictional*¹³² Furthermore, on three occasions IElfric says explicitly that the two series of Catholic Homilies contain the Lives of only those saints who were culted nationwide.

In the Old English Preface to the Second Series of the Catholic Homilies:

*ac hi ne sind na ealle of godspellum genumene, ac sind forwel fela of Godes halgena life oboe prowunge gegaderode, pxra aura be Angelcynn mid freolsdagum wuroao.*¹³³

'but they [the homilies] are not all taken from the gospels, but very many of them were plucked from the Lives or Passions of God's saints, but only of those saints whom the English honour with feast days.'

And in the Latin and Old English Prefaces to the Lives of Saints:

*Nam memini me in duobus anterioribus libris posuisse passiones uel uitas sanctorum ipsorum, quos gens ista caelebre colit cum ueneratione festi diei.*¹³⁴

'For I remember having set forth in two previous books the Passions and Lives of those saints whom this people solemnly celebrates with the veneration of their feast day.'

pu wast leof pat we awendon on twam aerrum bocum pxra halgena prowunga and lif be Angelcynn mid freolsdagum wurba^{8.135}

'Sir, you know that I translated in two previous books the Passions and Lives of those saints whom the English honour with feast days.'

The Lives of Saints were commissioned by 'Ethelweard, ealdorman of the western provinces, and his son I Ethelmer; for I Ethelweard an interest also in the Catholic Homilies is attested. Both these patrons, together with their pious friends and colleagues, will have been in a much better position than the modern reader to judge the validity of IElfric's assertion concerning the saints he had admitted into his Catholic Homilies.¹³⁶ Therefore, the highest evidential value must be assigned to IElfric's implicit remark on Cuthbert's standing as a saint

among the English. In other words, in the South it had apparently taken about a century for the cult of Cuthbert to be developed from a personal veneration of the saint, practised by a few devout and influential laymen (such as King fEthelstan and, perhaps, King Alfred), and to be developed from a devotion with a strong literary and political bias into a cult unifying the whole of Angelcynn, gens ista. It is to 'Elfric's representation of this new pan-English saint, the second treatment in the vernacular (after the account in the Old English Bede) and the only vernacular account specifically aiming to promote the cult of St Cuthbert, that we now may turn.

AILFRIC AND HIS SOURCES

z'Elfric's sources for his Life of St Cuthbert were identified more than one hundred years ago. Max Forster, in his ground-breaking dissertation on the sources of the hagiographic pieces in the Catholic Homilies,' 37 was able to identify almost all the Cuthbert material on which JElfric drew with even greater precision than in the case of 'Elfric's Life of St Gregory.¹³⁸ As Forster realized and demonstrated by means of a long list of references to verbal reminiscences, 'Elfric must have worked with copies of Bede's two Lives and the Historic ecclesiastics on his desk. Forster also noted that Bede's metrical Life formed the backbone of 'Elfric's uita, providing most of the verbal parallels and much of the structure for this uita, with Bede's prose Life as an important secondary source, providing, for example, factual details on which the metrical Life remained silent, and with the *Historia ecclesiastica* as a minor source, which was drawn on only in a few and isolated instances. It was finally noted by Forster (all within the compass of a few pages) that there are numerous passages where EElfric had conflated two of his sources, or where it is impossible to tell on which of Bede's Lives he drew, both being rather close, and 'Elfric translating rather freely for the passage in question. Such free renderings of his sources (otherwise untypical of A lfric) were, in Forster's view, pervasive in his Life of St Cuthbert. Forster's picture of 'Elfric's sources was fleshed out but not fundamentally redrawn by subsequent research. The detailed analysis of IElfric's sources by B. A. Blokhuis is flawed by her apparent ignorance of Forster's work and by her failure to notice the importance for R-lfric of the prose Life.¹³⁹ Gordon Whatley proposed the anonymous Life as a further subsidiary source for IElfric,' 40 though it is not entirely clear whether IElfric did indeed draw on a manuscript of VCA or whether he used a text of VCP with marginal annotations supplying details from VCA.¹⁴¹ Whatley's and Blokhuis's findings have been incorporated by Malcolm Godden,

who, building on Forster's work and his own expertise in the text of the Catholic Homilies and its sources has produced the now definitive record of the sources for the Life of St Cuthbert, available in electronic and (slightly modified) printed form.¹⁴² What is now readily accessible to any Anglo-Saxonist wishing to study JElfric's working method is a meticulous listing of excerpts from the four relevant sources which IElfric rehashed in composing his Life of St Cuthbert. Thus, in the Commentary volume to the Catholic Homilies Godden quotes twenty-five passages from VCM, twenty from VCP, seven from VCA and two from the *Historia ecclesiastica* as immediate sources for IElfric's Life.⁴³ Many of the quotations are of some length, comprising (say) ten or more lines from VCM. It is clear therefore that for almost all passages of JElfric's Life there are verbal parallels in one of the four sources, most often in VCM. It also becomes clear, however, that 'Elfric often paraphrases his source passages: such paraphrases are signalled in Godden's commentary by a remark to the effect that the passage quoted 'seems closest' (vel sim.),⁴⁴ or that two of the texts (mostly VCM and VCP) are almost equally possible as a source for the passage in question.'" (It must remain a moot point, however, how far the average Anglo-Saxonist will be in a position to verify for himself or herself such remarks, or estimate the closeness of the Latin quotations to the Old English at large, given the extreme difficulty of Bede's Latin in VCM in combination with IElfric's often rather allusive translation technique.) In sum, it is evident that Forster's observations, stressing IElfric's free handling of his sources, are amply borne out by the full record of the sources which is now available. Equally, his identification of VCM as JElfric's primary source is confirmed by the material assembled on the Fontes website and in the printed Commentary. The Fontes website and especially the Commentary volume in its annotated presentation of the material give a full record of IElfric's verbal borrowings and of his incontestable conflation of two or more of his sources (mostly VCM and VCP) in a given passage,⁴⁶ and there is no need to rehearse this evidence here.

The importance of the metrical Life

What does not readily emerge from such microtextual analysis, however, is the degree to which the structure of EElfric's Life depends on VCM. No comprehensive comparison between Bede's two Lives and 'Elfric's uita is possible within the scope of this chapter, but in order to form some picture of JElfric's dependence on VCM it will be necessary to consider briefly some conspicuous points of agreement and disagreement between JElfric's uita and the Latin Lives.¹⁴⁷ First, it is

important to note that 'Elfric follows his sources with some closeness only up to ch. 31 of VCM (= ch. 34 of VCP), a point to which I shall return shortly. Next, we have to note that JElfric omits all chapters of VCP which have no correlate in VCM. The following chapters are in question:

VCP, ch. 6, which relates how Cuthbert was ordained a monk at Melrose under its prior Boisil and which lets us glimpse something of Cuthbert's personality: his discipline, his diligence in following the strenuous round of praying, his abstinence from alcohol but not from food because he needed physical strength to perform his stint of manual labour in the monastery, etc. 148

VCP, ch. 8, relating how Cuthbert and his brethren were expelled from Ripon, how he was cured from an illness while his mentor Boisil died of the same illness. Again, 'Elfric misses a glimpse of Cuthbert's personality: his study, together with Boisil, of the gospel of St John.

VCP, ch. 9, relating how Cuthbert was appointed prior at Melrose, his eagerness to preach to the laity, his eloquence and aptitude as a preacher. 149 VCP, ch. 16, relating how Cuthbert was appointed prior of Lindisfarne. Description of the church of Lindisfarne as a monastic cathedral; reference to Pope Gregory expressly approving of this form of clerical life; Cuthbert (re-)introducing the monastic rule there; a detailed description of his personality: his gift of persuasion, his paternal kindness to the flock entrusted to him, his saintly habits, his serenity, his personal austerity, etc. 150

VCP, ch. 23, relating how Abbess 'Elfflxd and one of her nuns were healed by a girdle sent by St Cuthbert.

VCP, ch. 25, relating how Cuthbert, while staying on at Farne as bishop elect, cured a servant of a gesith of King Ecgrith.

Even from a brief synopsis such as this it will be seen that some of the chapters extant in VCP, but not in VCM or in iElfric, contain important information, especially with regard to Cuthbert's personality and his biography.

In addition, a few chapters in VCM have no correlate in IElfric (with one exception these chapters occur also in VCP):

VCM, ch. 3 (= VCP, ch. 3), relating how monks on a raft, in danger of being driven out into the sea, were saved by young Cuthbert's prayer.

VCM, ch. 5, relating a miracle worked by Bishop Aldan. This miracle is not found in VCP (nor in VCA), and clearly interrupts the narrative of VCM.

VCM, ch. 9 (= VCP, ch. 11): Cuthbert's expedition to the Picts. 'lfric (CH II, x. 95-7) here employs the *breuitas topos*, saying that he will omit a few miracles. In VCM Cuthbert delivers a long, flowery speech to his companions to the effect that they should trust in God. VCP provides more circumstantial detail. The miracle told by the Lives in this chapter (fish provided as food for Cuthbert and his companions) is to some extent duplicated by a miracle in the following chapter (VCM, ch. 10; VCP ch. 12); this miracle is briefly related by ./Elfric (CH II, x. 97-112).

VCM, ch. 20 (= VCP, ch. 22): Cuthbert preaching to his visitors at Farne Island, setting life in a monastery above life as a solitary. YElfric has only a summary remark on Cuthbert's many visitors at Farne (CH II, x. 210-12).

VCM, ch. 29 (= VCP, ch. 27): King Ecgfrith's death. fElfric, however, alludes (in accordance with VCM, ch. 21) to this event as imminent in the passage relating Cuthbert's prophecies to Abbess TELflxd, Ecgfrith's sister (CH II, x. 152-4).

It will be seen that among these few chapters of VCM which were omitted by YElfric there are two again (chs. 9 and 20) representing Cuthbert in his function as preacher, while the others contain rather insignificant miracles, or events that are mentioned briefly at some other point.

IElfric's dependence on VCM for the structure of his Life further emerges clearly from the sequence of the events which he relates in the last part of his uita for which a detailed comparison with the sources is possible. In his narrative he follows the sequence of events as arranged in chs. 22-7 of VCM, whereas VCP has a somewhat different order.¹⁵¹ For the subsequent chapters of VCM, ./Elfric is still closer in his diction to VCM than to VCP but rearranges its chapters: VCM's ch. 27 is followed by IElfric's adaptation of VCM ch. 31 (Cuthbert's prophecy concerning the death of a man from Abbess i lffiled's household).¹⁵² VCM's ch. 29 is omitted (Ecgfrith's death, but see above). A summary of VCM's ch. 28 (the *breuitas- topos*: not all of Cuthbert's miracles can be related) is inserted after VCM, ch. 31.¹⁵³ Finally, VCM's ch. 28 is followed by an adaptation of VCM, ch. 30 (Cuthbert's prophecy concerning his own death and that of his friend

Hereberht).¹⁵⁴ By these transpositions, T-Elfric creates a rather effective closure for that part of his uita in which he is following the narrative of his sources, in particular that of VCM: a sequence of miracles (VCM, chs. 23-7) is followed by a last miracle of a prophecy concerning a layman (VCM, ch. 31), a reference to the many miracles which must be omitted (VCM, ch. 28), and the prophecy concerning his own death (VCM, ch. 30). Thereafter, no detailed correspondence between 'Elfric and his sources can be established. He briskly draws his uita to a conclusion, thereby omitting a substantial part of the two principal sources: almost one third of VCM and approximately a quarter of VCP have no exact correspondence in 'Elfric's text.¹⁵⁵ 'Elfric ends his uita with a summary account of Cuthbert's final retreat to Farne, after functioning two years as bishop, and his death there,¹⁵⁶ his burial in the church at Lindisfarne, where he 'geworhte wundra forwel fela',¹⁵⁷ the elevation of his incorrupt body after eleven years,¹⁵⁸ and the doxology. ¹⁵⁹

In addition to VCM's importance for the contents and structure of 'Elfric's Life of St Cuthbert, it will have emerged from the foregoing observations that this Life is a much condensed version of VCM (and VCP, its secondary source). Such condensation does not only apply to 'Elfric's drastically abbreviated conclusion but can be observed for practically every chapter of Bede's VCM (which, it should be noted, is usually itself considerably more condensed in its narrative of an event than VCP). However, 'Elfric's Life of St Cuthbert is by no means a short piece: with its 341 lines it is considerably longer than the immediately preceding Life of St Gregory (260 lines), if much shorter than the following Life of St Benedict (588 lines), which in turn is an unusually longish piece among the Catholic Homilies.

~Elfric's Cuthbert

How does 'Elfric's technique of condensation affect his representation of Cuthbert? We may begin by looking at what features in the picture drawn of Cuthbert in the Latin Lives captured his interest and what features he chose to ignore. 'Elfric studiously ignores the local and historical background to Cuthbert's life. Cuthbert's Northumbrian extraction is never mentioned. Lindisfarne and Farne Island are named but not located: how many of 'Elfric's original readership will have been in a position to locate these places? ¹ 60 Ecgrith is a king (kingdom not identified, x. 214),¹ Elflad an abbess and King Ecgrith's sister (213-14), Aldan is a bishop (50), as is Trumwine (245), but we never learn where they exerted their abbatial or episcopal offices.

That 'Elfric is not much interested in historical and biographical details in his saints' Lives has been noted on several occasions.¹⁶¹ It is also a characteristic trait of the genre as a whole, and especially of Latin metrical saints' Lives.¹⁶² But i lfric's representation of St Cuthbert is an extreme case by any standard. In view of the pervasive neglect of historical detail it may be noteworthy that /Elfric specifies Bede's 'beatae memoriae Theodorus archiepiscopus' as 'Theodorus 8ises iglandes ercebiscop'.⁶³ This style aptly expresses how Theodore himself conceived of his office, but it must have sounded somewhat strange in the ears of i lfric's audience who were accustomed to the English church being presided over by an archbishop each at Canterbury and at York. Perhaps the style was meant to reflect something of the importance of Theodore's archiepiscopate for the entire English church, a notion which 'Elfric may have imbibed during his Winchester schooling.¹⁶⁴

Next we have to note that /Elfric is not interested in any traits of Cuthbert's personality which he would have found in his sources. Nor does he reveal an interest in Cuthbert's promotion of monasticism or in his roles first as monk, then prior and bishop, for all of which, again, he would have found abundant material in his sources. Finally, ./Elfric shows only a perfunctory interest in Cuthbert's role as a preacher, a role that had been developed by Bede to an extent which has been thought to clash with the depiction of Cuthbert's life as a solitary.¹⁶⁵

Turning to the features in Bede's Lives which captured ./Elfric's interest, the most prominent of such features were Cuthbert's austere life, his fights with demons, the numerous miracles worked by him, and his gift of prophecy. As regards the miracles, two points are worth noting. First, with one exception (explicable in terms of avoidance of duplication, see above, p. 105), no miracle involving animals is omitted. Apparently, TElfric was attracted by the emotional appeal inherent in such miracle stories. This much emerges clearly from 'Elfric's narrative of the two otters mysteriously appearing from the depths of the sea to dry Cuthbert's body and warm his feet with their fur and breath after he had spent the night singing psalms immersed up to his neck in cold water. In this episode 'Elfric follows fairly closely the story as Bede narrates it in VCM; it is one of the least abbreviated episodes in IElfric's uita, and one of its most ornate passages, embellished by [an elaborate diction, rhythmical prose and heavy alliteration.](#) ¹⁶⁶ Secondly, none of the numerous post-mortem miracles in the Latin uitae is adopted by JElfric. An explanation for this may, possibly, be sought in the fact that these post-mortem

miracles are rather firmly anchored in the historical setting of Cuthbert's early cult.

Cuthbert: a pan-English saint

Elfric's representation of St Cuthbert may be compared with the way he represents Pope Gregory. There too (as we have seen, above, pp. 53-4), Elfric much simplifies the picture drawn by Bede and Paulus Diaconus. There too, he does not show much interest in Gregory's character and personality, his writings, his various ecclesiastical functions (not even his papacy), and the historical background. Still, the Roman setting for Gregory's life is not as totally eclipsed as is the Northumbrian setting for Cuthbert's life. Elfric does depict Gregory's Roman background as far as is necessary to turn Gregory into an 'English' saint, a goal which he achieves by focusing on Gregory's roles as apostle of the English and preacher to the Romans and the English in a time of distress. In Elfric's representation of Cuthbert as an English saint there is no room at all for the historical and political dimension of his cult. What knowledge Elfric may have had (from a study of the *Historia ecclesiastica* or, say, of Stephen of Ripon's *Life of St Wilfrid*) of factions in Northumbria in the late seventh or early eighth century, predictably perhaps, does not inform his *Life of St Cuthbert*. But through his teacher Ethelwold Elfric will also have had knowledge of the political dimension of Cuthbert's cult in the tenth century and of the role which this cult had played in the unification of England and the emergence of the 'Kingdom of the English'. For Elfric's generation, however, all this belonged to the past. From Elfric's *Life* we may, perhaps, reconstruct the unfolding process of Cuthbert's promotion from a northern to a pan-English saint. In the course of this process his biography was stripped of all historical and local detail. It was, perhaps, part of this process that Cuthbert was even deprived of much of his role, assigned to him by Bede, as a notable preacher to the English. What Elfric offers in his *Life* is a saint whose cult could uncontroversially be embraced by the whole of Angeln, an icon of a miracle worker, a solitary demon fighter and a prophet. As Elfric himself put it when summarizing his vita:

Hwa mæg &fre ealle gereccan ba mihtigan tacna oises halgan weres,
hu oft he eacelice adlige gehæde, and pa sweartan gastas symle
afligde, and fægra manna forðsið foregleaw sade, wis ourh witegunge
wisdomes gastes. L67

We have seen that from its inception there was a stylistic as well as a political component in the cult of St Cuthbert, the stylistic component being informed by the early availability of three uitaes, two of them written by one of the foremost scholars of Anglo-Saxon England, and one of these, the VCM, written in a prestigious form that exerted considerable influence on the Continent and in England, as we shall see. If the political dimension of the cult played no role in Elfric's uita, what about the stylistic dimension? Elfric adopted VCM as his structural model, but was it also a stylistic model for him? This question inevitably will lead us first to a brief consideration of Elfric's rhythmical style and the vocabulary employed in his Life of St Cuthbert.

Rhythmical prose

The Life of St Cuthbert was one of the earliest 'Elfrician texts whose predominantly rhythmical character was noted:168 first, in 1834, by Benjamin Thorpe in his *Analecta Anglo-Saxonica*,169 and next by Ludwig Ettmüller in 1850, who printed long excerpts from the Life and was of the opinion that the rhythmical passages had been lifted by Elfric from a now lost poem.170 Nevertheless, the Cuthbert uita is printed as prose in Thorpe's and Godden's editions of the Catholic Homilies, as are all texts in these editions.171 According to Pope, 'Elfric employs the rhythmical style in the Life of St Cuthbert `intermittently, though predominantly'. 172 As Pope further notes, the style in this text is in an experimental stage which, in combination with the fact that it is the first piece in the Catholic Homilies to employ this style, may suggest that it is `among the earliest in date of composition'.173 The experimental character emerges not only from the mixture of passages containing rhythmical and ordinary prose, but also from the fact that Elfric is imitating here, more closely than in his later homilies and saints' Lives, Old English poetical verse with regard to stress patterns and number of syllables (his rhythmical units here are shorter on average).174

Various sources have been suggested for Elfric's rhythmical style:175 Old English verse (a view usually combined with the opinion that Elfric was writing a kind of pedestrian poetry),176 the rhythmical patterning and use of alliteration as found in passages in the Blickling and Vercelli homilies,177 and Latin prose, especially rhymed prose and the various forms of cursus or clause endings practised there; a view which was most pronouncedly held by Gordon H. Gerould,178 and which was severely attacked by a number of

scholars.¹⁷⁹ While it is beyond reasonable doubt that ðElfric did not strive to imitate Latin *cursus*, attention should be drawn to the fact that rhymed prose was practised at ðEthelwold's Winchester, as is testified by passages in Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, and in the so-called New Minster Foundation Charter (BL, Cotton Vespasian A. viii).¹⁸⁰ In this connection it is further interesting to note that there are extended passages of rhythmical prose in ðEthelwold's Old English translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*.¹⁸¹ Finally, John Pope drew attention to the fact that important features of ðlfric's rhythmical prose, such as rhythmic balance or frequent use of alliteration, already occur in the more elaborate passages of ðElfric's 'ordinary prose'.¹⁸²

The rhythms of Old English poetry, the often elaborate structure of Latin prose, the reminiscence of earlier attempts to write rhythmically patterned Old English prose, ðElfric's own mode of writing a carefully structured 'ordinary' prose: all these factors may have contributed in one way or another to the development of ðElfric's rhythmical style. As a further shaping influence we may add, in my view, the Latin hexameters of Bede's metrical *Life of Cuthbert*. In suggesting VCM as a model which sparked off what was arguably ðElfric's first sustained attempt in this new form of prose style, I am not implying that ðElfric, consciously or subconsciously, tried to imitate Latin hexametrical verse. I am suggesting, however, that the prose and verse forms of Bede's two *Lives*, on which ðElfric drew as his principal sources, in combination with further verse *contrafacta* of Latin prose *uitae* with which he had become acquainted in Bishop ðEthelwold's school (see below), had sharpened his awareness of different stylistic modes of writing hagiography. It is possible that such awareness, in turn, may have prompted ðElfric to develop an elaborately structured prose rhythm for his own hagiographic pieces (and subsequently for his other writings as well), which had close affinities to the Old English poetic line. That the *Life of St Cuthbert* is, very possibly, the first text substantially written in this new rhythm (still in an experimental stage) may confirm the hypothesis that these verse *contrafacta* (and in particular VCM) had a decisive influence on the development of ðElfric's rhythmical style.

The vocabulary

There is a broad scholarly consensus that, no matter how close his rhythmical prose may be to the rhythms of Old English poetry, ðElfric makes no sustained attempt to imitate Old English poetic vocabulary

and poetic diction. Scholars are also agreed, however, that in the early, experimental, stages of his rhythmical style 'Elfric also experimented with a sporadic admixture of poetic vocabulary, but that he soon abandoned such attempts.¹⁸³ The Life of St Cuthbert, for which an uncommonly close affinity to Old English verse has been noted, ¹¹⁴ is among the pieces known to contain a sprinkling of poetic words: *heolstor* 'hiding place',¹⁸⁵ *sund*, in its assumed poetic meaning 'sea' (as opposed to 'swimming', its meaning in prose),¹⁸⁶ and *fremde* 'alien', not precisely a poeticism, but the one occurrence of the word in 2Elfric has been explained as an attempt to create an A-type verse and to imitate a poetic formula. ¹¹⁷ This would be a small, rather negligible tally. However, even a cursory reading, with an eye to register and shades of meaning in Old English words, quickly reveals that there is more experimenting with poetic or formal diction in JElfric's Cuthbert homily than these few poeticisms might suggest. The words and phrases employed here not infrequently exhibit a distinctly *recherche* flavour and are rare in JElfric's oeuvre as elsewhere in Old English texts. A comprehensive examination of such words and phrases is beyond the scope of the present chapter but [can easily be achieved with the help of the Old English Concordance in its microfiche or electronic form](#). What I propose to do here is briefly to review a few relevant examples, principally by setting them in the context of IElfric's word usage in the Catholic Homilies.¹⁸⁸ Such procedure, preliminary to a fully fledged examination of the Life's vocabulary, will, I hope, illustrate something of the distinctive character of word usage in that text.

In the Life of St Cuthbert, 'Elfric reveals an especial penchant for collocations of a qualifying adjective and a substantive instead of a compound noun (when some qualification is needed) or, more often, instead of a single noun (when a qualification is not strictly necessary). The collocations which are in question here are of a rather formal, sometimes *recherche*, character, and they must be distinguished from the numerous adjective and noun phrases where the adjective is indispensable for a proper understanding of the text, such as 'his *dyslican plegan*' (x. 12): 'his foolish plays'; or mid *twylicere sprece*' (x. 217-18) 'with ambiguous words'. Consider the following examples:

1. *sefter leoolicere gyddunge* (x. 6): in poetical composition

LeoOlic occurs only here in the Catholic Homilies, as does *gyddung*, meaning 'discourse (in verse)' (*gyddung* 'prophetic saying' occurs five times in the Catholic Homilies).

2. mid rodorlicum wuromynte (x. 16): with celestial honour

to heofonlicum rodore (x. 81): to the celestial firmament

In comparison to the 256 occurrences of heofonlic in the Catholic Homilies there are only five occurrences of rodorlic, and the noun rodor occurs only twice in the Catholic Homilies; on the second occasion with an even more pronounced poetic ring: `roderes wealdend': `the ruler of heaven'.¹⁸⁹

3. on sselicere yoe (x. 79): in the sea

mid pam sielicum flode (x. 207): with the sea oa slelican nytenu (x. 85): the marine animals (referring to the otters administering to Cuthbert; cf. the use of the poetic meaning of (alliterating) sand `sea' in the next line)

Scelic 'of the sea' occurs twelve times in the Catholic Homilies; its collocation with yO `wave' or flod `flood' belongs to the same purely embellishing type as does 'on flowendre yOe' (x. 163-4): `in the sea'¹⁹⁰

4. on Barn sealtan brymme (x. 75)

mid sealtum brymme (x. 164)

Bone sealtan brym (x. 188-9)

on Sam sealtum ofre (x. 209)

There are only four occurrences of the adjective sealt `salt' in the Catholic Homilies, all of them in the Cuthbert homily. Three are combined with the noun hrym(m) `sea'; in the fourth the adjective is transposed by hypallage to ofer `shore'. It is possible that the noun brym(m) is intended by IElfric as a kind of poeticism. In Old English two words, brim and brym(m) existed, both meaning `sea, ocean', both being phonetically rather close, but deriving from different roots.¹⁹¹ For brim the Dictionary of Old English¹⁹² registers some thirty-five occurrences; the lemma is a long-established poetic word with occasional occurrences in prose. OE brym(m) (twenty-five occurrences), on the other hand, is the word used in prose. However, in later Old English both words became even closer phonetically, with brim developing a variant form brym,¹⁹³ and hrym(m) possibly undergoing unrounding to brim.¹⁹⁴ Apart from the three occurrences of brym(m) in the Cuthbert piece, IElfric employs the word on three

further occasions in the Catholic Homilies (but in the Second Series only). Conceivably, therefore, he intended to exploit the close phonetic similarity of *brim* and *brym(m)* and the poetic connotations of original *brim*, when he introduced *brym(m)* in the Second Series, beginning with the Life of St Cuthbert, where *brym(m)* always occurs in a formal collocation. 195

5. *mid treowenum helme* (x. 302): with the woody top of the tree

OE *helm*, originally meaning 'protection', by an (established) metaphorical sense shift becomes 'top of a tree'. The adjective *treowen* 'of a tree, wooden' occurs only twice in the Catholic Homilies. The phrase is further distinguished here by its use as a form of metonymy (a herdsman is said to feed his livestock with '*treowenum helme*', i.e. the acorns of an oak tree).

The ravens trying to steal Cuthbert's corn are called '*heardnebban*' (x. 185) 'the ones with hard beaks', a hapax legomenon in Old English with a distinctly poetic ring; a little further down Cuthbert addresses them as '*woelhreowan fugelas*' (x. 188) 'cruel birds': the military connotations in these two epithets are as unmistakable as they are in Cuthbert's designation as '*a8ele cempa*' (x. 168) 'noble warrior', a phrase which, perhaps intentionally, adumbrates the beginning of the hymn for Cuthbert's feast day: '*Magnus miles mirabilis / multis effulgens meritis / Cuthberhtus*'.¹⁹⁶ Such military terminology is sustained, for example, in the choice phrase that Cuthbert often '*8a attrigan flan deoflicere costnunge on him sylfum adwxscete*' (x. 129-30): 'extinguished the poisoned arrows of devilish temptation directed against himself'.

From examples such as these an impression may be formed that in his Life of St Cuthbert 'Elfric not only experimented with a distinctive prose rhythm, but simultaneously attempted to develop a form of diction, if not poetic, yet more formal and ornate than ordinary prose, and suitable to match his new prose rhythms. The vocabulary and lexical collocations employed in the Life of St Cuthbert and their place in the context of 'Elfric's word usage in the Catholic Homilies (and in the Lives of Saints) would therefore merit scholarly attention. By the same token, it would be interesting to establish to what extent precisely there are verbal parallels between phrases in VCM and 'Elfric's *recherche* phrases. The overall impression is that, due to 'Elfric's free rendering of his source, such exact correspondences are relatively infrequent.

A comparison

The diction and poetic intention of Bede's poem have been succinctly analysed by Michael Lapidge.¹⁹⁷ Bede's poem must be viewed in the context of late antique verse renderings of biblical narrative, Juvenius's *Euangelia*, Caelius Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* and Arator's *De actibus apostolorum* being the classic models for such renderings. Of these, the model and method of Arator was of especial importance for Bede, who was 'deeply steeped in Arator at the time he was working on the poem'.¹⁹⁸ Bede (following Arator) was not interested in the narrative potential of the story; nor was he (or Arator) interested in local and historical details. In his metrical *uita* Bede was clearly concerned to remove the episodes of Cuthbert's biography from their local and historical setting and 'to situate them in a timeless, placeless framework'.¹⁹⁹ Bede (as Arator) focuses on the figural significance of an episode, often by having recourse to typological interpretation or to Christian symbolism in general. The diction of both poets is, therefore, often condensed, allusive, abstract or figural, penetrable only by intense meditation on the single lines of their poems.

We may form an impression of how YElfric received and transformed this characteristic poetic mode of Bede's poem by briefly looking at one of the passages where he follows VCM rather closely. We may pick for a comparison the famous episode of the otters ministering to St Cuthbert after he had spent the night chanting hymns, submerged up to his neck in cold seawater.²⁰⁰

Interea iuuenis solitos nocturnus ad hymnos
Digreditur, lento quidam quem calle secutus
Illius incertos studuit dinoscere gressus.
Ad mare deueniunt; collo tenus inditus undis
Marmoreo, Cuthbertus agit sub carmine noctem.
Egreditur ponto genibusque in litore fixis
Expandit geminas supplex ad sidera palmas.
Tum maris ecce duo ueniunt animalia fundo
Vatis et ante pedes fulua sternuntur harena;
Hinc gelidas uillo flatuque fouentia plantas
Aequoreum tergunt sancto de corpore frigus.
Supplice tum nutu sese benedicier orant.
Qui parens uotis uerbo dextraque ministris
Impendit grates patriasque remittit ad undas
Ac matutino tectis se tempore reddit.
Haec comes ut uidit percussus corda pauore,
Semianimem curuo flatum trahit abditus antro.
At reuoluta dies noctis cum pelleret umbras,
Aeger adest uati, supplex genibusque uolutus
Se poscit Domino prece commendare profusa,
Inciderit maestam subito quod pondere noctem.
'Num nostrum e speculis', dixit, 'temptando latenter
Lustrabas itiner? Sed nunc donabitur error
Iam tibi poscenti, retices si uisa, quousque
Decedam mundo.' Summique exempla magistri
Exsequitur, misso renouans qui lumine caecos
Praecipit auctorem reducis celare salutis.
Tum prece languorem pellit culpamque relaxat.
Inque dies meritis crescenti summa tonantis
Gratia testis adest, pandunt miracula mentem.
Iamque prophetalis stellanti e culmine uirtus
Candida praerutilo irradiat praecordia flatu.

Meanwhile the young man sets off at night for his usual hymn-singing; someone, following him by a slow path, sought to trace his uncertain steps. They arrive at the sea; submerged in the waves as far as his marble-white neck, Cuthbert spends the night chanting. He emerges from the sea and, fixing his knees on the sea shore, he extends his two hands to the heavens in supplication. Then two animals come from the depths of the sea and prostrate themselves on the golden sand at the saint's feet. Then, warming his frozen feet with their fur and breath they wipe the watery cold from the holy body; then they beg in earnest supplication to be given a blessing. He, consenting to their wishes, gives thanks to his attendants by his word and by his right hand, and sends them back to their native waters, and he takes himself back to the dwellings in the early morning light. As the companion watches these things, he is struck to the heart with fear and, hidden in his curved cave, he draws half-dying breath. But when the returning day had driven away the shadows of night, he stands, sick, before the saint; and throwing himself on his knees in supplication, he asks Cuthbert in profuse prayer to commend him to the Lord, because he had stumbled upon a sad night with its sudden burden: 'Did you observe my journey', he said, 'testing me secretly from your cave? But your error shall now be forgiven at your request, if you remain silent about the things you have seen until I depart from this world.' Cuthbert followed the example of the great Teacher Who, after restoring the sight of the blind men, ordered them to conceal the source of their recovered health. Then with prayer he expelled the illness and forgave the sin. The highest grace of God is present as a witness to Cuthbert, growing in merit day by day: his miracles reveal his spiritual state. And now a prophetic power, derived from the starry summit of heaven, illuminates his shining heart with its brilliant radiance.

pes foreseda halga wer wes gewunod pmt he wolde gan on

75 niht to sae. and standan on dam sealtan brymme no his
swyran. syngende his gebedu; pa on sumere nihte hlosnode
sum oiler munuc his fareldes. and mid sleaccre stalcunge his
fotswadum filigde. oil pet hi begen to sae becomon; Da dyde
Cupberhtus swa his gewuna waes. sang his gebedu on
salicere yde. stan-

80 dende oo bone swyran. and sy68an his cneowa on oam
ceosle gebigde. astrehtum handbredum to heofenlicum
rodo; Efnæ oa comon twegen seolas of sxlicum grunde. and
hi mid heora flyse his fet drygdon. and mid heora blade his

leoma beoedon. and sidcan mid gebeacne his bletsunge
badon. licgende et

85 his foton on fealwun ceosle; pa Cudberhtus da salican
nytenu on sund asende. mid sodre bletsunge. and on
merigenlicere tide mynster gesohte; Weard pa se munuc
micclum afyrht. and adlig on ernemerigen. hine geeadmette
to das halgan cneowum. biddende pet he his adl eallunge
afligde. and his fyrwitnysse

90 fiderlice miltsode; Se halga oa sona andwyrde. Ic oinum
gedwylde dearnunge miltsige. gif 8u oa gesih8e mid swigan
bediglast. o8 pant min sawul heonon sioige. of andwerdum
life geladod to heofonan; Cudberhtus oa mid gebede his
sceaweres seocnysse gehelde. and his fyrwites ganges gylt
forgeaf;

(CH II, x. 74-94)201

The above-mentioned holy man was wont to go at night to the sea, and stand in the salt ocean up to his neck, singing his prayers. Then one night another monk spied on his passage, and at a slow pace followed his footsteps, till they both came to the sea. Then Cuthbert did as he was wont, sang his prayers, standing up to his neck in the waves of the sea, and afterwards knelt down in the sand, with his palms outstretched to the heavenly firmament. Truly, then came two seals from the ground of the sea, and with their fur they dried his feet, and with their breath they warmed his limbs, and afterwards by a sign begged his blessing, lying at his feet in the yellow sand. Then Cuthbert sent the marine animals into the sea with a sincere blessing, and at the hour of matins returned to the monastery. Then the monk became greatly terrified, and early in the morning prostrated himself, ill, at the knees of the saint, praying that he would wholly drive away his illness, and paternally have mercy with his curiosity. Thereupon the saint answered: 'I will secretly condone your misconduct, if you will conceal with silence what you have seen, until my soul will have journeyed hence, called from the present life to heaven'. Then Cuthbert, by his prayer, healed the illness of his observer, and forgave him the guilt of his walk of curiosity.

For this passage 'Elfric need not have consulted any other of his sources: all the information he gives could have come from VCM.²⁰² JElfric retains Bede's timeless and spaceless frame for the episode (in contrast to both VCP and VCA): this is in accordance with his pervasive neglect of the historical and local details of Cuthbert's life

which we have noted above (p. 107). It seems clear, moreover, that for 'Elfric, as for any attentive reader of VCM, this episode is one of the highpoints of the poem and, apparently, he strove to capture something of the tone and style of Bede's poem in his rendition: alliteration is very prominent in the passage, which is also written, largely, in the new prose rhythms.²⁰³ The formal or poetical words or phrases of the type discussed above come thick and fast in the passage: 'on oam sealtan brymme' (75); 'on salicere y8e' (79); 'to heofonlicum rodore' (81); 'of salicum grunde' (82; cf. 'maxis ... fundo', VCM, 227); 'on fealwun ceosle' (85, 'on the yellow sand'; cf. 'fulua . . . harena', VCM, 228); 'Oa s elican nytenu' (85); and 'sund' (86, meaning 'sea'). However, a considerable number of Bede's choice expressions have no counterpart in IElfric's text. For example, the 'iuuenis nocturnus' (literally 'nocturnal youth', 220) becomes 'pes (ores da halga wer' ('the above-mentioned holy man', 74); his 'collo marmoreo' ('marble-white neck', 223-4) is just his 'swyran' ('neck', 80); the 'aequoreum frigus' ('the watery cold', 230) has no correlate; and 'reuoluta dies noctis cum pelleret umbras' ('the returning day had driven away the shadows of night', 237) is simply 'on rnmemerigen' ('early in the morning', 88). Some of Bede's poeticisms, such as 'the nocturnal young man', are removed for the sake of clarity, and this tendency to clarify Bede's oblique diction is palpable throughout TElfric's text (and not only in the passage under discussion here). The 'quidam' ('someone', 221) who spies on Cuthbert is identified as 'sum oOer munuc' ('some other monk', 76-7), a concrete detail which YElfric may have derived from the chapter heading of VCM ('frater'), without having to turn to the prose Lives. Similarly, Bede's two animals, arriving mysteriously from the depth of the sea (227) are identified as 'seolas' ('seals', 82). These animals are called 'lutreae', 'otters' in VCP (they are not identified in VCA).²⁰⁴ However, various manuscripts of VCM also identify the animals as lutreae in a gloss (obviously derived from VCP).²⁰⁵ In fact, 'Elfric calling the animals 'seals' may point to some similar gloss (uitula or phoca, and independent of VCP) which he perhaps found in his exemplar of VCM. Bede's 'uerbo dextraque ministris / Impendit grates' ('gives thanks to his attendants by his word and his right hand', 232-3) is simplified and clarified into 'mid so8re bletsunge' ('with a sincere blessing', 86). Bede's 'Se poscit Domino prece commendare profusa, / Inciderit maestam subito quod pondere noctem'. ('he [the spy} asks Cuthbert in profuse prayer to commend him to the Lord, because he had stumbled upon a sad night with its sudden burden', 239-40) is clarified into 'biddende pxt he his adl eallunge afligde. and his fyrwitnysse foederlice miltsode' ('asking that he would wholly drive away his illness and have paternal mercy on his curiosity', 89-90). And Bede's

vague 'culpamque relaxat' ('forgave his sin', 247), referring to the monk's spying, is explained a second time as 'his fyrwites ganges gylt forgeaf' ('and forgave him the guilt of his walk of curiosity', 95). In other words, here, as elsewhere in his *Life of St Cuthbert*, Ælfric seeks to imitate Bede's compressed diction and, occasionally, his poetic mode of expression, while aiming to remove his obliqueness and allusiveness. Interestingly, the figural implications with which Bede draws the episode to a conclusion are passed over in silence by Ælfric: the allusion to the miracle of Christ healing the two blind men (Matthew IX. 27-30), and the image of Cuthbert as a vessel of divine grace.²⁰⁶

Bede's poem is intended as 'a meditation on the life and significance of Cuthbert';²⁰⁷ it is thus firmly embedded in western monastic culture, where private reading of, and meditation on, a text had been assigned an important role ever since the Rule of St Benedict.²⁰⁸ By contrast, Ælfric's *Life of St Cuthbert* was intended for public reading to a lay congregation in the church, as were all his Catholic Homilies.²⁰⁹ But for his Cuthbert homily Ælfric took Bede's difficult poem as his primary model for the contents, structure and style of his text. This may permit us to think that, by adapting Bede's poem along the lines we have been examining, Ælfric also intended to create for the more discerning members of his lay audience, and at a simplified level, what Bede had produced, for a clerical and monastic audience: 'a meditation on the life and significance of Cuthbert'.

The opus geminatum in the tenth-century reform

It may seem striking, nonetheless, that Ælfric should have chosen VCM as his model when Bede's prose *Life* (and possibly the anonymous *Life*) were at his disposition, and when, very possibly, he himself had included Bede's prose *Life* (but not the metrical *Life*) in a Cuthbert dossier which he had compiled at some stage preparatory to his own *Life of the saint*.²¹⁰ However, the notion of turning a poem into prose (and vice versa) may not have been altogether striking and novel to Ælfric: it may well have been part of his Winchester training. Michael Lapidge has drawn attention to the burgeoning of verse contrafacta of Latin prose saints' Lives in England in the later tenth century.²¹¹ The corpus comprises: Frithgod's *Breuilloquium Vitae Wilfridi*,²¹² Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*,²¹³ an anonymous poem on St Eustace,²¹⁴ a poem entitled *Breuilloquium de omnibus sanctis*, also composed by Wulfstan of Winchester,²¹⁵ and a metrical *Life of St Iudoc*.²¹⁶ This corpus of metrical saints' Lives constitutes the bulk of Anglo-Latin poetry composed in the later tenth

century. However, the flair for verse contrafacta becomes palpable earlier, during the reign of King Æthelstan. Corpus 183, the manuscript given by Æthelstan to Chester-le-Street, contains Bede's prose and verse Lives, and, as we have seen (above, pp. 89-91), the manuscript itself provides evidence that Bede's poem was closely studied at Æthelstan's court: the rhyming Office in Corpus 183 is bristling with verbal echoes of VCM, and a glossary of difficult words in VCM is prefaced to its text. Furthermore, Corpus 183 is the earliest surviving manuscript to contain Bede's prose and metrical Lives side by side, thereby revealing an interest in comparison of the two modes of composition. And, possibly, two continental manuscripts of VCM (London, BL, Harley 526 and Paris, BNF, lat. 2825) were available in the royal household as well.²¹⁷ But it was not only Bede's prose and verse Lives which were closely studied in Æthelstan's court circles; there is also evidence for the intense study of the second great opus geminatum of Anglo-Latin literature: Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* and his *Carmen de uirginitate*.²¹⁸ Such evidence is provided not least by the flair for the hermeneutic style which is manifest in Æthelstan's entourage; it is further provided by two Aldhelm manuscripts - Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C. 697 (containing the *Carmen*) and London, BL, Royal 7. D. XXIV (containing the prose *De uirginitate*) - which seem to have been closely associated with the royal household.²¹⁹ It is also possible that a manuscript containing Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* and the *Carmen* side by side, the only such manuscript of which we have knowledge (though it is now lost), originated during Æthelstan's reign.²²⁰

Bede's metrical Life and Aldhelm's *Carmen de uirginitate* represent the two different traditions of rendering a prose narrative into verse to which the Anglo-Saxons were inheritors: the figural and the literal.²²¹ We have seen (above, p. 117) that Bede was following the model of Arator in composing a sort of poetic commentary in figural language on the biographical events of Cuthbert's life. The literal tradition of composing verse contrafacta (followed by Aldhelm) was established by Juvenius's *Euangelia*, which adhere closely to the events and details as related in biblical prose, with only such stylistic and lexical changes as are necessary in transforming a prose narrative into verse. It is this stylistic model - the literal mode - which is adopted uniformly in the verse contrafacta that have been preserved from the second half of the tenth century. Michael Lapidge has very plausibly suggested that the production of such verse renderings was actively promoted in Æthelwold's school: with the exception of Frithegod's *Breuiluquiuna*, all texts have certain or arguable links with either Winchester or

Abingdon, and the suspicion must be that they were produced as 'a scholastic exercise ... intended to demonstrate mastery of poetic vocabulary and facility in metrical technique'.²²² The link between the Abingdon-Winchester interest in verse contrafacta and the preoccupation with verse hagiography at King IÆthelstan's court is, of course, Æthelwold himself. But there is also a link between IÆthelstan's court and the one poem produced outside the Abingdon-Winchester orbit: Frithegod's *Breילווייuna*. Before he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury (in 941) Oda, Frithegod's patron, who commissioned the work, was among the scholars and ecclesiastics who were active at IÆthelstan's court, where he may well have developed his pronounced taste for the hermeneutic style, but also for the composition of verse contrafacta.²²³

In a word, we may assume that in matters of verse hagiography (as in other fields) IÆlfric's great master Æthelwold passed on to his students stylistic preoccupations with which he had been imbued as a young scholar in King IIÆthelstan's household. We may also assume that, as a consequence of such stylistic preoccupations in Æthelwold's school, IÆlfric was fully conversant with the practice of rendering Latin prose into hexametrical verse, and that he will have profited from his facility in switching between Latin prose and verse when he set out to render Bede's *VCM* into Old English prose. We may even suspect that the Winchester tradition of composing verse contrafacta - literal instead of figural - may have influenced the way in which IÆlfric transformed Bede's difficult poem.

CONCLUSION

After his *Life of St Gregory*, the *Cuthbert uita* is IÆlfric's second attempt to provide his lay patrons, and his audience at large, with a vernacular account of a non-biblical saint, and, as in the case of *Gregory*, *Cuthbert* is a saint of especial importance for the whole of England. What was stressed in IÆlfric's representation of *Gregory* was his role as apostle of the English whose preaching could still provide instruction in a time of national disaster. By contrast, IÆlfric's representation of *Cuthbert* remains silent on the role which the cult of *St Cuthbert* played in Anglo-Saxon history, beginning with *Cuthbert's* promotion as a pan-Northumbrian saint in the early eighth century, his subsequent importance in the ongoing process of the unification of England, and culminating in his veneration as a pan-English saint, one of the foremost saints culted in the 'Kingdom of the English' at a time when this polity was in danger of annihilation. In his *Cuthbert uita* R-

lfric draws a picture of a saint which, by its utter neglect of time and place, invites meditation on the essence of the saintly life. His inspirational source for such representation was Bede's metrical Life of St Cuthbert. It is this source and the way YIElfric met its immense challenges which make his Cuthbert uita a most remarkable text. 'Elfric attempted nothing less than to convey to his audience something of the mode of diction of one of the most mature poems of the Latin Middle Ages in a language that was still in its intellectual infancy. That 'Elfric singled out from among the abundant Cuthbert hagiography Bede's metrical Life to serve as his primary structural and stylistic model reveals the confidence he placed in English as a medium of sophisticated discourse; a confidence which no doubt he had acquired during his Winchester schooling, together with a feeling of the necessity to make available the riches of Latin literature to those who had command only of the vernacular.

Benedict: father of monks - and what else?

It is not difficult to imagine what writing a vita of St Benedict will have meant to a Benedictine monk of the second generation of the tenth-century English reform, a monk moreover, who had been trained in the intellectual and political headquarters of the reform, the Old Minster at Winchester under Bishop IEthelwold. Benedict was of course the father of western monasticism. By the turn of the first millennium, however, he had long been established as one of the principal saints of Anglo-Saxon England. This much is attested, for example, by IElfric's inclusion of a Life of Benedict in the Catholic Homilies, which contain vitae only of those saints who were venerated by all the English people (as distinct from the Lives of Saints, in which the sanctorale of monastic communities is represented);¹ and the evidence of surviving calendars, litanies, hymnals and mass sets points in the same direction. The evidence of the calendars can be conveniently controlled in a recent publication by Rebecca Rushforth, where for each month of the year the contents of the twenty-six calendars and calendar fragments from Anglo-Saxon England are set out in tabular form.² Of the three feasts of St Benedict (dies natalis 21 March, translation 11 July, (second) translation 4 December), that on 21 March is represented in all twenty-six calendars, the translation on 11 July is in twenty-four, and the translation on 4 December in fourteen calendars. By comparison, of the two feasts of St Gregory his dies natalis, 12 March, is also recorded in all twenty-six calendars, and his ordination, 29/30 March, is in thirteen. With regard to St Cuthbert, his dies natalis, 20 March, is again commemorated in all twenty-six calendars, and his translation on 4 September is in fifteen.

A similar picture emerges from an inspection of Anglo-Saxon missals, sacramentaries and litanies. Mass sets for 21 March and 11 July are provided in the Missal of Robert of Jumieges, the New Minster Missal and the Winchcombe Sacramentary; the Winchcombe Sacramentary has a third set for the translation on 4 December.³ Mass sets for two feasts of St Benedict (21 March and 11 July) are included already in the earliest, continental, part of the Leofric Missal,⁴ which must have been in England by c. 930. The presence of two feasts of St Benedict in

the Leofric Missal is reckoned by its editor among the indications of a Frankish origin of the sacramentary.⁵ By comparison, Gregory is commemorated with a mass set for his March feast only in the three Anglo-Saxon mass books, and in the continental part of the Leofric Missal.⁶ Cuthbert is commemorated with his March feast only in the Missal of Robert of Jumieges, and with his March and September feasts in the New Minster Missal; he is not commemorated in the Winchcombe Sacramentary or in the Leofric Missal.⁷

With regard to the surviving litanies of the saints,⁸ Benedict's name is absent from only five of the forty-six manuscripts containing litanies. Thirteen of the forty-six manuscripts contain more than one litany (mostly two, occasionally three); in seven of these thirteen manuscripts Benedict is invoked in all their litanies. Similarly, Gregory is absent from six of the forty-six manuscripts with litanies, and in six of the thirteen manuscripts containing more than one litany he is invoked in all of these.⁹ Cuthbert is considerably less represented in the litanies: he is invoked in only twenty-six of the forty-six manuscripts, and in the thirteen manuscripts containing more than one litany he never occurs in more than one of their litanies.

Finally the evidence from the hymnals: whereas we have one hymn each for Gregory and Cuthbert,¹⁰ there are three hymns for St Benedict, all surviving in several manuscripts, one of them of considerable length (seventytwo lines, that is, eighteen sapphic stanzas) and containing a great number of references to episodes related in Pope Gregory's uita of Benedict." In sum, comparison of these indexes to the popularity of a saint's cult reveals that around the year 1000, in spite of his exclusively monastic background, Benedict was on a par with Gregory and somewhat more popular than Cuthbert.

ST BENEDICT AND THE REGULA S. BENEDICTI IN PRE-REFORM ENGLAND

By the year 1000, St Benedict and his Rule had played for centuries a pivotal role in the English church in general, not only in the history of English monasticism. A comprehensive history of the Regula S. Benedicti (RSB) in England and its adoption in English monasteries has yet to be written, and it remains doubtful whether we will ever be in a position to distinguish clearly between knowledge of the text of the RSB on the one hand, and its adoption as the monastic rule in seventh- and eighth-century English monasteries on the other, even in the North, the region for which our sources are most numerous for the early period.¹² It is clear now that neither Pope Gregory the Great,

nor St Augustine and his companions whom Gregory had sent to England, were Benedictine monks, in spite of their having been members of the monastery of St Andrew which Gregory had founded on a family estate on the Caelian Hill, and in spite of the prominence given to Benedict in Gregory's Dialogues (to which we shall turn in a moment). 13 It is also clear that on the Continent it was not before the ecclesiastic reforms instigated by Charlemagne and his son Louis the Pious that the RSB emerged victorious as the sole monastic rule to be followed in monasteries all over the Carolingian empire."

On the other hand, it is well known that the earliest manuscript of the RSB surviving from anywhere in Europe was written in Southumbria sometime during the first half of the eighth century (perhaps as early as 700), and that this manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 48, presupposes at least two earlier copies of the Rule.¹⁵ Earlier still, in Southumbria in the 670s, we have knowledge that the text of the RSB was closely studied in the cathedral school which Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian had established at Canterbury subsequent to their arrival there in 669 and 670 respectively. 16 Also, we have to note that scholars concerned with the early transmission and adoption of the RSB in Europe increasingly tend to distinguish between the situation in England and on the Continent with regard to a so-called 'Mischregelobservanz', i.e. the adoption in a given monastery of a 'mixed rule', compounded, for example, of elements drawn from the RSB and the monastic rules of Columbanus, Basilus, Caesarius of Arles and others.¹⁷ Whereas such 'Mischregelobservanz' was common practice on the Continent before the Carolingian reforms, it has recently been doubted whether this practice would also apply to England in the seventh and eighth centuries. Thus it has been held, quite plausibly, that the 'mixed rule' compounded of no fewer than seventeen different monastic rules which Benedict Biscop is said to have introduced to WearmouthJarrow was no 'mixed rule' at all but referred to the *usus cotidianus*¹⁸ of seventeen monasteries which Benedict Biscop had visited during his travels, and from which he had culled certain day-to-day practices that he had found useful for introduction in his own twin monasteries.¹⁹

Concomitant with deliberations such as these is the conclusion that the RSB occupied a dominant position in England from an early stage onwards; and that, in the case of Benedict Biscop and Wearmouth-Jarrow for example, the dominant position of the RSB and its author can be seen in the injunction to follow the RSB in important details

like the election of an abbot. On a more personal level, Biscop's adoption of the by-name Benedict (his original name was Biscop Baducing)²⁰ points in the same direction, as does Bede, beginning his uita of Benedict Biscop with the same sentence which opens the uita of Benedict of Nursia (modern Norcia, north-east of Spoleto) in Pope Gregory's *Dialogi*.²¹ In a similar vein, the importance of the RSB for Bede's thought world and for his writings has been stressed.²² Here, however, it is necessary to exercise caution. The RSB is rightly famous for its discretion and for advising prudently on how to lead a life pleasing to God, taking as its guideline the teaching of the New Testament. Therefore, when precepts such as not to be haughty, fraudulent, irascible or garrulous are found in Bede and the RSB, such parallels cannot be taken as proof of the influence of the RSB on Bede. On the other hand, for IElfric and his Benedictine colleagues the parallels between Bede and the Rule will have been even more obvious than they are for us, and they may well have been inclined to attribute them to a direct influence of the RSB on Bede. By the same token, it has rightly been stressed that from studying the *Historia ecclesiastica* Bishop IElthelwold (and not only he) would inevitably have formed the impression that monasticism had been of paramount importance for the structure and the spirituality of the early English church.²³

In any case, around the year 1000 the RSB had been the dominant monastic rule in England and on the Continent for at least two centuries and, consequently, for YElthelwold, iElfric and their contemporaries, monasticism will have been synonymous with Benedictinism, irrespective of what the historical role of the RSB in Bede's (and in St Augustine's) England may have been. In other words, St Benedict being universally culted in England is not exclusively the result of the reforming zeal of the new Benedictines; rather, as with the cult of Gregory, the apostle of the English, St Benedict's cult stretched back to the very origins of the English church.

GREGORY'S *DIALOGI*

There is, of course, a further link between Gregory and Benedict: the second book of Gregory's *Dialogi* is entirely taken up by a Life of St Benedict, which was, and still is, the most important source of information on the saint's biography. Since book II is IElfric's sole source for his own uita, some brief remarks on the contents, structure and reception of the *Dialogi* will be appropriate.²⁴ The *Dialogi*, written between July 593 and November 594, are divided into four

books, all dealing with miracles and prophecies performed by sixth-century Italian saints or occurring in sixth-century Italy.²⁵ By focusing on a narrowly defined region and timespan Gregory aims to demonstrate that God continues to work miracles in latter-day Italy and by Italian saints, and that miracles did not cease after the Desert Fathers and the martyrs under the Emperor Diocletian. Books I and III contain miracles which are either grouped around a specific saint who performed them, or which are linked by their similar pattern, but performed by various saints. Book II is devoted to the life and miracles of Benedict of Nursia; and book IV, though still containing numerous miracles, deals extensively with death, the existence of the soul after death, purgatory (this is the first time that the dogma of a cleansing fire for souls is articulated in theological literature), and the efficacy of masses for the dead. The title of the work refers to the dialogues between Gregory and his friend and deacon Peter which frequently punctuate the narrative, with Peter commenting on or asking about the significance of the miracles he has just heard and, by his questions, prompting the next group of miracles.²⁶

It is an understatement to say that from the sixteenth century onwards the *Dialogi* were the most controversial work of Gregory's entire oeuvre: they met with widespread repudiation, first by the protestant zealots, then, from the eighteenth century up to our own days, by enlightened and critical scholars; and it is not difficult to see why. A book abounding with miracles, often of a crude and trivial nature and verging on magic or witchcraft of the kind practised by the Harry Potters of all ages (sieves getting repaired, oil flasks getting filled, enemies getting flogged or dropping dead, snakes on garden paths getting paralyzed, all done by prayers of the saint in question) - such a book was bound to be rejected after miracles had fallen into disrespect. Also, much of the doctrinal matter expounded in the last part (book IV), such as the purgatory or masses for the dead, were not palatable to protestant and puritan minds.²⁷ As a consequence of modern disapproval of the *Dialogi* the picture of the great pope was either denigrated, or, in an apologetic fashion, it was conceded that even a Gregory was very much a child of his age which believed in childish miracles. On occasion, apologia resulted in denying the work's authenticity altogether: this occurred as early as 1614 and as recently as 1987.²⁸ In a more positive and a more scholarly vein it has been pointed out, for example, that the miracle stories in the *Dialogi* belong to a corpus of traditional stories common to the Byzantine East and the Latin West, and that Gregory intended them to be read typologically. ²⁹

It is interesting to note that modern literary scholars appear to find it less difficult to pass a favourable verdict on the *Dialogi* than do Gregorian scholars. Thus, Erich Auerbach and Walter Berschin both stress Gregory's stylistic versatility in the *Dialogi* and his closeness to the Late Latin vernacular in passages of the work.³⁰ In addition Berschin³¹ draws attention to the possibility of explaining the miracles of the *Dialogi* in terms of Andre Jolles's theory of 'Einfache Formen'. 'Einfache Formen' are simple literary genres such as legend, myth, riddle, gnomic verse, fairy tale, in which, according to Jolles, the author is virtually non-existent, and which thus create the impression that they obtained their literary form, not by an individual, but by 'language itself.'³² However, despite a closeness to spoken language and the adoption of a simple narrative mode, a rather sophisticated structure has been postulated for the *Dialogi*.³³ Part of that sophistication is that the overall structure of the *Dialogi* may be analysed in two ways with two resulting patterns. According to the first pattern, books I and III would be classified as containing miscellaneous miracles by a long row of saints, whereas books II (Benedict) and IV (eschatological discussion) are narrowly focused. Alternatively, books I-III may be seen as a kind of triptych, focusing on St Benedict, with book IV as an epilogue. These two coexisting and overlapping structures have an equivalent in the numbers of chapters matching up variously between the parts, thus lending themselves to various interpretations in terms of numerical symbolism. We may be permitted to assume that this structural sophistication and the number symbolism will not have gone unnoticed in a close study of the *Dialogi* by medieval scholars.

Unlike modern scholars from the sixteenth century onwards, medieval scholars from the seventh century to the fifteenth held the *Dialogi* in great esteem. An index to this esteem are the many translations of the work into European vernaculars and even into Arabic, spanning the time between the Greek translation made by Pope Zacharias in about 740 and a fifteenth century translation into High German.³

THE *DIALOGI* IN ANGLO-SAXON ENGLAND

Predictably, the translation into Old English, made by Bishop Warferth of Worcester at King Alfred's instigation at some point before 893 is one of the earliest of these translations, and is the earliest into any western vernacular.³⁵

By the time Bishop Warferth translated the *Dialogi*, their Latin text

had been known and studied in England for at least 220 years, perhaps even longer, since it may not be unreasonable to assume that the Dialogi were among the books brought to England by Augustine and his companions, though this assumption is incapable of proof.³⁶ It is clear, however, that the Dialogi were studied in the Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian: as with the *Regula S. Benedicti* a batch of glosses on the Dialogi is preserved in the 'Leiden Glossary'.³⁷ Aldhelm, one of the alumni of the Canterbury school, reveals an intimate knowledge of book II of the Dialogi when dealing with St Benedict and his sister St Scholastica in his great opus geminatum. Interestingly, Aldhelm's allusions to events related in book II are more numerous in the later (and shorter) *Carmen de uirginitate* than in the prose *De uirginitate*.³⁸ Paul Meyvaert has drawn attention to the fact that, since one of the Barking addressees of the earlier prose *De uirginitate* had adopted the name Scholastica, the Barking nuns must have been acquainted with the Dialogi for some time before Aldhelm sent them their dedication copy in about 675 x 680.³⁹ That Aldhelm was also thoroughly familiar with other books of the Dialogi is convincingly demonstrated by his treatise *De pedant regulis* where he quotes from book III, ch. 17. He identifies the source of his quotation, and from its nature it is clear that he must have studied the Dialogi meticulously. ⁴⁰ Bede is a further important witness to the early study of the Dialogi in England. From the index of quotations in the *Historia ecclesiastica* it emerges that - apart from the Letters - the Dialogi are the most often quoted of the entire Gregorian oeuvre.⁴¹ It has even been held that with regard to miracles the Dialogi exerted a structural and stylistic influence on the *Historia ecclesiastica*.⁴²

Theodore, Aldhelm, Bede - one might add further witnesses to the high esteem in which the Dialogi had been held ever since the inception of a textual culture in Anglo-Saxon England; witnesses such as the anonymous *Life of St Cuthbert*, written between 699 and 705,⁴³ the 'Whitby Life' of Gregory the Great, written between 704 and 714,⁴⁴ the *Life of St Guthlac* by Felix of Crowland, written between 713 and 749,⁴⁵ or, the first witness in the vernacular, the Old English *Martyrology*, written perhaps in the early ninth century.⁴⁶ One might also add that of the nine surviving manuscripts or manuscript fragments of the Dialogi written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England no fewer than three date from the eighth century. ⁴⁷ In any case, by the ninth century, Theodore, Aldhelm and Bede were England's most renowned scholars.⁴⁸ Their renown, combined with the fact that the Dialogi were written by the deeply venerated apostle of the English, goes a long way towards explaining why, in the early

890s, King Alfred and his circle launched their translation programme with precisely this text.⁴⁹ Furthermore, the parallel between the omnipresence of marauding Goths and Langobards in sixth-century Italy and their Viking counterparts in ninth-century England would scarcely have gone unnoticed by Alfred and his contemporaries, as would Gregory's demonstration that, in his saints and their miracles, God is present even in a disintegrating society. And, on a more personal level, the existence of the soul after death (the subject of book IV) was a deep concern of Alfred throughout his life.

The translation of the *Dialogi* made by W ærferth, bishop of Worcester (perhaps with the assistance of a collaborator) is mentioned by Asser in his 'Life of Alfred' and hence was in existence by 893.⁵⁰ We also know from Asser that the translation was made at King Alfred's command; the king himself provided a brief prose preface to it.⁵¹ As Asser asserts, the translation was done 'intelligently and in a very polished style',⁵² an assertion to which modern philologists would not unreservedly subscribe in view of the long lists of errors which have been detected in the work.⁵³ Nevertheless, we probably should not dismiss Asser's judgement as the unqualified opinion of a Welshman who presumably wrote for a Welsh audience: it is not impossible that Asser has given voice to late-ninth- and early-tenth-century assessments of W ærferth's skill as a translator.⁵⁴

There are clear indications of a positive reception of W ærferth's translation: it is probable that the production and distribution of copies of the text was organized in a way similar to the systematic fashion in which Alfred's Pastoral Care was copied and distributed.⁵⁵ Furthermore, in the late tenth or early eleventh century the text of the translation was thoroughly revised, the revisor(s) aiming at a greater precision with regard to the Latin and at a comprehensive modernization of the Old English vocabulary.⁵⁶ This revised and updated translation is preserved in one manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 76 (s. xil), and from its employment of Winchester vocabulary it is clear that it must have originated somewhere in the Winchester ambit, which brings us close to I Ælfric and his knowledge of the *Dialogi*. I Ælfric was not only fully conversant with the Latin original, but at one point he also refers to the Old English translation, and, in addition to his *Life of St Benedict*, which is entirely taken from the *Dialogi*, there are some further verbal echoes or borrowings from that text in the *Catholic Homilies*.⁵⁷ Interestingly, with one exception, all these allusions and borrowings refer to the fourth book which deals with death and afterlife. The most important of these references are in

the composite homily CH II.xxi, the first part of which contains the afterlife vision of Dryhthelm, taken from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*. After relating Dryhthelm's vision, Ælfric touches briefly on one of the afterlife visions told in book IV of the *Dialogi*, [quoting his source](#). 511 In the second part of this homily (on the efficacy of the mass), where he relates (again after Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*) how a captive's fetters fell off whenever his distant brother said mass for him, Ælfric also refers to the *Dialogi*, book IV, where, as he says, more on the efficacy of the mass can be read. Here, he expressly mentions the Old English translation:

Eac se halga papa Gregorius awrat on were bec Dialegorum hu micclum seo halige masse manegum fremode. Seo boc is on Englisc awend; on ore mxg gehwa be cison genihtsumlice gehyran se 8e hi offeredan wile.⁵⁹

From the wording of this reference it is clear that for Ælfric the Latin and the English text were more or less on a par (and he could be rather scathing when the appropriateness of an English work was in doubt), though we do not know whether he refers to the original Werferthian or to the revised version of the translation, as transmitted in Hatton 76. In any case, the fact that the translation of the *Dialogi* was revised, but that they were not translated afresh at Winchester or a place with Winchester connections at about the time Ælfric was active, reveals not only the undiminished esteem for that Gregorian text but also the new Benedictines' respect for the Alfredian translation, in spite of its perceived shortcomings.

ÆLFRIC'S REPRESENTATION OF ST BENEDICT

Whatever Ælfric may have thought of Bishop Werferth's translation of the *Dialogi*, his own adaptation of the second book for his Benedict uita has no stylistic and verbal links with the earlier rendering. We have seen that book II differs from the other books of the *Dialogi* inasmuch as it presents us, not with a succession of miracle stories worked by a great number of different saints, but with an account of the life and miracles of Benedict of Nursia (d. C. 550). The value of Gregory's memoir of the saint lies in it being written within living memory; it is therefore still considered the most authentic biography. It must be said, however, that, though we can form some notion of the outward events of Benedict's life and the chronological order in which they occurred, most of the uita is taken up with Benedict's miracles, prophecies and visions (thus is the second book linked to books I and

III of the Dialogi). By the same token, the dialogue structure of the other books is maintained in book II as well, and Peter's questions and Gregory's answers to them frequently interrupt the narrative. By no means should we expect to find any signs of a personal or spiritual development in Gregory's representation of Benedict. The opening sentence of the uita,

Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab ipso
pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile⁶⁰

There was a venerable man 'blessed' by Divine grace and by his name, who from his boyhood had the heart of an old man

has been styled by Walter Berschin 'das berühmteste Exordium lateinischer Biographie', who stresses that it is also 'eine der stärksten Negationen jeder Entwicklungsgeschichte, Alterspsychologie, inneren Fortschritts' found in Medieval Latin literature.⁶¹ We will have to bear in mind these facts about Gregory's uita when assessing /Elfric's representation of St Benedict. We will also have to bear in mind the considerable length of Gregory's uita (sixtyone pages in de Vogue's edition) and the restraints with regard to length which the inclusion of the Life in the Catholic Homilies put on IElfric.

For the narrative part (in distinction to the dialogic part) of Gregory's uita forty-five narrative units can be established, ranging from a few lines to about one or two pages, and containing incidents from Benedict's life.⁶² Forty of these units contain one or several miracles worked by Benedict, or one or several of his miraculous prophecies or visions. iElfric omits from his Life only five of these units, which is striking in light of his omission of a great number of miracles in his Cuthbert uita, and in light of his drastic abbreviation of biographical detail in his Gregory uita.⁶³ In each case it is possible to suggest a reason for iElfric's omission, though we can, of course, not be certain of his precise rationale. Thus, when he omits Benedict's prophecies concerning the fall of Rome in 546 and the destruction of Monte Cassino in 577,⁶⁴ it might be argued that around the first millennium both these prophecies had become obsolete inasmuch as Rome and Monte Cassino still existed, and that therefore at least some clarifying remarks by IElfric would have been required, which would, inevitably, have distracted attention away from Benedict's gift of prophecy. Likewise, Gregory's account of his witnesses to the events of Benedict's life,⁶⁵ which was omitted by iElfric, would have been of little relevance to an Anglo-Saxon audience, and this omission is also wholly consonant with the fact that IElfric rather sparingly gives

details such as names, titles, places in the episodes which he retains. For example, in Benedict's last and most spectacular vision we are told that the bishop in question was called Germanus, but not that he was a bishop of Capua.⁶⁶ Similarly, we are not told that Totila was a king of the Goths but only that he was a cruel king - which would have conveyed the same message to IElfric's audience as the reference to a king of the Goths had to Gregory's contemporaries.⁶⁷ In spite of such imprecision with regard to circumstantial detail, it is important to note at the outset that s lfric by no means sets Benedict's Life in such a timeless and spaceless frame as he does in the case of Cuthbert.⁶⁸

The remaining two of the five episodes which are entirely omitted from JElfric's narrative concern a dishonest monk and layman, their dishonesty being revealed through Benedict's gift of prophecy. The first of these episodes (a pious layman breaking his self-imposed fast on his annual trip to St Benedict and trying to conceal his failure)⁶⁹ comes immediately after a closely similar incident (retained by IElfric) concerning two of Monte Cassino's monks who, while conducting business on behalf of the monastery, had a meal outside the monastery and failed to admit this much when returning home.⁷⁰ For JElfric, the Benedictine monk, this second episode clearly held more interest than the one he omitted: here Benedictine monks were in question, and IElfric pointedly adds to Gregory's version that they 'tobrecon Bone regol' (line 226) with regard to its injunction not to partake of food outside the monastery when expecting to return there on the same day.⁷¹ It is therefore a plausible assumption that IElfric, having translated (with an added reference to the RSB) this anecdote of blatant monastic disobedience, for reasons of narrative effect refrained from translating the subsequent, similar but less precisely defined, story of a pious layman failing to live up to his self-imposed standard.

The second case of dishonesty and disobedience (and the last of the five episodes omitted by IElfric) is also the most difficult to evaluate: a monk entrusted by St Benedict with the spiritual care of nuns in a nearby convent is given a couple of handkerchiefs as a token of the nuns' gratitude. He fails to report this to his abbot Benedict, but (as Gregory points out) simply because he had forgotten about the matter.⁷² IElfric's rationale for omitting this episode is not altogether clear, but it may be relevant to observe that the episode concerns an issue which had much preoccupied the Benedictine reformers: the proper conduct of monks and priests entrusted with the pastoral care of nuns. Gregory's handling of the episode might be read as toning down a case of male misconduct in a matter that had been mooted in

the key texts of the reform, the *Regularis concordia* and Bishop JElthelwold's translation of the Benedictine Rule.⁷³ The suspicion that JElfric thought along these lines when deciding not to translate the episode may be confirmed by his slight but perhaps not haphazard rewriting of the chapters detailing the meeting between Benedict and his sister Scholastica, and Scholastica's death and burial a few days after their meeting.⁷⁴ According to Gregory, Scholastica lives as a nun in a convent in the vicinity of Monte Cassino from whence she comes once a year to see her brother in his own monastery. Their meeting place is said to be one of the monastery buildings near the entrance, where Benedict, accompanied by some of his disciples, comes to see her, talk to her and sing the Divine Office with her. As JElfric tells the story, Scholastica is apparently a recluse, not a nun, and her brother comes to see her in her own cottage. By these changes JElfric enables their meetings to take place without Scholastica having to roam about the countryside on her way to visit her brother and without having her enter the precincts of a monastery. He also enables Scholastica to talk to her brother (and his companions) without other senior nuns being present.⁷⁵ In late-tenth-century England such behaviour would not have been thought suitable for a regular Benedictine nun. By the same token, Scholastica being buried at her brother's wish in his monastery church and in the tomb which he had prepared for himself (and where he was also put to rest shortly after her death) would, perhaps, have caused less embarrassment in a tenth-century English audience if they conceived of her as a recluse, not a Benedictine nun.

In a word, the episodes which JElfric omits from Gregory's narrative, in combination with his slight but potentially significant changes to that narrative which we have been considering so far, arguably let us glimpse JElfric's meticulous concern with the suitability of his version to his audience, and his concern with representing incipient Benedictine monasticism in terms of tenth-century political correctness. But the omissions are few and far between; the vast majority of the narrative units of the Latin *uita* are preserved in JElfric's text, and often they are translated fairly closely, though, inevitably, given the length of the Latin, mostly in condensed form. It may be significant to note that this technique of condensing, but essentially preserving, the narrative units is rather different from the way JElfric abbreviated Bede's *Cuthbert uita*, where he chose to omit almost completely the last part (about one third) with the post-mortem miracles of Cuthbert.⁷⁶

The considerable technical problem with which JElfric was

confronted in his attempt to reduce a longish Latin text to a format which would be suitable for inclusion in the Catholic Homilies should warn us to exercise caution when evaluating 'Elfric's alterations by means of a close reading and comparison. Nevertheless, a few such alterations in the Old English text may be pointed out here as being of a more recurrent nature and general interest. We have already noted that frequent suppression of names, titles and localities, which would have been meaningful to Gregory's readers but not to IElfric's, form an important part of Alfric's condensing strategies. The examples referred to above could easily be augmented. IElfric also jettisoned much general information concerning the protagonists and the circumstances of an episode. Thus, we are given almost no biographical or circumstantial details of Benedict's supporters and support while he is living as a hermit at Subiaco (though in this case we do get the names of his supporters).⁷⁷ The details concerning the raven in the poisoning attempt by the priest Florentinus are omitted (though, again, we are given the priest's name);⁷⁸ or we hear nothing about the reason (i.e. clearing land for laying out a garden) why a stint of manual labour was performed, which occasioned a miracle.⁷⁹ In spite of the undeniable vagueness, in comparison with Gregory's account, which results from such techniques of condensation, it should be stressed again that St Benedict is more securely anchored in his sixth-century Italian environs than are 'Elfric's Cuthbert or Gregory in their historical and topographical contexts. We can, for example, form a fairly clear picture of Subiaco and Monte Cassino, of the people in that region and of their way of life.

As a rule, IElfric retains the sequence of events as told by Gregory; at only one point does he rearrange that order. The rearrangement concerns the shifting of a miracle by which the young monk Placidus is saved from drowning. It is clearly an improvement on the sequence of events in Gregory's account, inasmuch as it places an episode explaining Benedict's especial love for Placidus before another episode where such a special relationship is taken for granted.⁸⁰ Here again we have to note the meticulous attention which IElfric brought to Gregory's narrative, this time to its structure, not hesitating to improve on it in a case where he felt the cause and effect of a story should be brought into a more obvious relation.

Consideration for the background and understanding of a tenth-century English audience is pervasive in this vita. Such consideration prompted not only the omissions from the Latin and played an important part in condensing the Latin text; it also informed a further group of adaptations. Thus IElfric suppresses any identification of a

protagonist as a Goth, and says nothing about the Goths' adherence to Arianism, but he does represent the protagonists in question as heretics persecuting orthodox Christians. Instead of a reference to 'gold coins' (solidi) as found in the Latin, *Ælfric* gives us a sum crucial to one of the episodes in pounds and pennies;⁸¹ and he explains that in Benedict's country they use oil (a detail again crucial to one of the episodes) for their food 'as we do butter'.⁸² Clarification of Gregory's text by adding a precept of the RSB would also fall within this category of changes. ⁸³

A few further adaptations are relevant to the tenth-century image of the founder of western monasticism. At the beginning of his biography Gregory remarks that Benedict abandoned his education at Rome at an early stage, well aware that this decision would leave him in his present state of intellectual imperfection for the rest of his life. *Ælfric*, however, makes no mention of Benedict's ignorance, but asserts that by the time he decided to leave his teachers 'he on wisdom wel seonde wæs'.⁸⁴ Towards the end of his Life *Ælfric* inserts a brief description of Benedict's outward appearance and his personality, for which so far no source has been found:

se eadiga wæs bliðe on andwlitan, mid hwitum harum, fægere gehwod, and mid micelre lufe on mode afylled; swa pet he on heofonlicum eðle eardigende was, peah he on eorðan 8a gyt wunode.⁸⁵

The blessed man had a cheerful face, white hair and an attractive figure; and his mind was filled with great charity, so that he was living in his heavenly home although he yet dwelled on earth.

These lines occur at a strategic point in the narrative, between Gregory's reference to Benedict as the author of the RSB and the account of his death. Needless to say, perhaps, that Gregory's laudatory remarks on the RSB, praising it for its overall discretion and clarity of language, are translated almost verbatim by *Ælfric*.⁸⁶ To Gregory's account of Benedict's death *Ælfric* adds the information that many years after his death Benedict was translated to Fleury, where he is held in great veneration and continues to perform miracles.⁸⁷ Various sources, such as the martyrology of Florus of Lyon, have been adduced for this passage, but Malcolm Godden is probably right when, having reviewed opinions on the addition, he comes to the conclusion that *Ælfric* perhaps needed no written source for so familiar a detail and so brief a reference'.⁸⁸

In a word, small adaptations such as these let us glimpse a Benedictine monk slightly retouching for his tenth-century audience the icon of the 'father of monks' which Gregory had painted.

THE DIALOGUES OF BOOK II

We have seen that the negative view of the *Dialogi* was and is decisively based on a rejection of their abundant miracle stories. However, anyone carefully working their way through the *Dialogi* could scarcely fail to realize that, notwithstanding the interminable series of Italian saints and their sometimes trivial miracles, this is a book much preoccupied with the nature of miracles, the reasons why they occur, the interpretations we assign to them, their intrinsic value for strengthening our faith, their role in God's eschatological plan, and their appropriateness to the individual saints who perform them. These matters are discussed in the conversations between Gregory and his friend Peter. The important role assigned to these dialogues emerges from the title of the work as found already in the earliest manuscripts. It emerges further from the fact that, with the sole exception of St Benedict, no coherent account of a saint's career is given. What we get is a group of miracles told by Gregory and strung together either by the single saint who performs them or by a shared identical theme; then Peter interrupts Gregory's narrative with a remark or question, which is followed by a discussion of some or all of the miracles told in the preceding section and which leads on to the next batch of stories. It is clear, therefore, that Peter's and Gregory's dialogues are crucial to the central meaning of the book as well as to its structure. The second book, in spite of its distinctive thematic character in being entirely devoted to St Benedict, retains, nevertheless, the regular alternation between narrative and dialogues. Thus we find here a total of eleven such dialogues inserted in between the narrative episodes. The topics discussed in these dialogues comprise questions such as why consecration as a priest should occur only at a mature age,⁸⁹ whether an abbot is allowed to abandon an obstinate monastic community, ⁹⁰ how the occurrence of miracles can be brought into conformity with the idea of God's predestination, ⁹¹ the general nature of Benedict's miracles,' whether saints always have the gift of prophecy,⁹³ or always get what they are praying for. ⁹⁴

Most of these passages of dialogue are eliminated by JElfric; he admits to his *Life* the gist of only two of them: a reference to the Old Testament prophet Habakuk as a parallel to, and an explanation for, Benedict appearing in a dream to two of his monks, giving them

instructions on how to proceed with some building works;⁹⁵ and part of the exegesis of Benedict's breathtaking last vision, in which he sees the soul of Bishop Germanus of Capua being carried to heaven. ⁹⁶ We cannot be certain why Ælfric decided to incorporate the gist of precisely these two passages into his narrative, but it is clear that the miracles to which the explanatory matter relates (appearing in the dreams of other people, visions of the universe) represent prototypical situations in a saint's Life. In any event, Ælfric's inclusion of material from two of the dialogues suggests that he carefully scrutinized them all and omitted them only after due consideration. It is also clear from Ælfric's handling of these two passages (stripping them of their dialogic form and adroitly merging them with the narrative parts) that the dialogue structure of the Latin original was, per se, not a reason for suppressing most of these passages.

Ælfric's most obvious reason for excluding the dialogic passages was length. The Benedict uita is the longest piece of the entire Catholic Homilies, and seems to be more suitable for private reading (alone or in a group) than for public preaching, the confirmed purpose of the Catholic Homilies.⁹⁷ However, Ælfric could have somewhat reduced the innumerable miracles which he took over from his source (often in condensed form but with scarcely any omissions at all) had he wished to include more material from the dialogue passages. So the length of the piece cannot have been his sole reason for handling his source in the way he did. We may suspect that an important factor for his decision was his aim to present his audience with a uita of St Benedict which contained as much factual and individual information about the saint as could be comprised within the scope of a piece of the Catholic Homilies. The material for the implementation of this aim, however, was to be found in the narrative parts of Gregory's uita, which Ælfric compressed but otherwise took over entirely. To include material from the dialogue passages would, inevitably, have depersonalized Benedict's portrait by emphasizing the general and typical aspects of miracles and miracle-workers. (The generalizing effect of the dialogue passages can easily be seen in the two episodes into which Ælfric did incorporate material from the dialogues.) It is true that Ælfric eliminated details from Benedict's sixth-century Italian background, but only to the extent that this background would have been incomprehensible or irrelevant to his audience. Otherwise, Benedict is given a clearly defined background, at least with regard to space. Like all saints of the Catholic Church he is no doubt portrayed as an icon to be venerated by those who have his Life read out to them or read it for themselves. But this iconism is not the full picture: Ælfric aims at drawing a portrait as precise as possible of a saint, who

was not only the founding father of western monasticism but who, for the second generation of the Benedictine reformers, was unequivocally a cornerstone on which the entire English church was built.

IELFRIC'S BENEDICT AND THE BENEDICTIONAL OF IETHELWOLD

By iEthelwold's teaching YIElfric will no doubt have been imbued with the notion of the monastic foundations of the English church; but, as we have seen, TEthelwold did not create this notion *ex nihilo*, though he put all his stupendous energy into propagating the idea that there had been close and inseparable ties between the English church and Benedictinism ever since the time of Pope Gregory's mission. We have two eloquent witnesses to this 'Ethelwoldian conviction: the tract going by the modern title 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' (EEM), apparently intended as a preface to his own translation of the RSB, and his lavish Benedictional. In EEM it is stressed throughout that King Edgar's support of Benedictine monasticism is, in fact, a movement 'back to the roots', namely the ideals of the Gregorian mission." In the Benedictional's 'Choir of Confessors' St Benedict is portrayed, flanked by St Gregory and St Cuthbert, as one of the three pillars of the English church.⁹⁹

Robert Deshman was, to my knowledge, the first to point out a meaningful 'error' in the Benedictional's representation of St Benedict. In the 'Choir of Confessors' Benedict is depicted in episcopal robes, wearing a pallium, the insigne of an archbishop;¹⁰⁰ and in his feast picture he is wearing mass robes.¹⁰¹ It is abundantly clear that Benedict was no bishop (in the inscription on his pallium he is correctly styled 'abbas'); and neither the RSB, nor Gregory's *uita* give us grounds for thinking that he was ever ordained a priest. However, the portraiture of Benedict's priestly office and episcopal rank (even if it meant confecting history) was crucial to a reform programme whose most important -and, in a continental perspective, most unusual - concern was the establishment of monastic cathedrals, where the bishop was a monk and abbot, was elected according to the stipulations for the election of an abbot as laid down in the RSB, and was supposed to live, together with his *fantilia*, in a Benedictine monastery.¹⁰²

The iconography of St Benedict in IEthelwold's Benedictional is strikingly innovative in a further important respect, as was also first pointed out by Deshman. The Benedictional employs a highly unusual and elaborate symbolism in the depiction of crowns and crowned

figures: a trefoiled crown is worn by worldly rulers or saints, whereas a jewelled diadem is worn by the Deity - and by St Benedict in his feast picture. Thus, in his feast picture, St Benedict is portrayed as *imago Dei*; by contrast, in the 'Choir of Confessors' Benedict wears the trefoiled crown, assigned by the Benedictional to 'ordinary' saints.¹⁰³ The pictorial representation of a diademed Benedict as a Christ-like figure occurs in two further Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (BL, Arundel 155, fol. 133r and BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fol. 117v), and, similar to the Benedictional, the iconography of these closely related portraits was probably devised under I Ethelwold's supervision. ¹⁰⁴

Significantly, in his feast picture Benedict in his function as *imago Dei* holds a trefoiled crown in his left hand, offering it to his (imagined) followers. Who are St Benedict's followers? There is reason to suspect that for I Ethelwold they were not only Benedictine monks and nuns (though, by their strict adherence to a life according to the Rule, he would certainly have regarded them as forming the 'inner circle'); rather, in I Ethelwold's view Benedict's followers comprised the entire English church, those in holy orders, as well as devout laymen. This much may be inferred already from the Preface to his translation of the RSB (EEM), where he stresses that King Edgar himself was keen on studying Benedict's Rule and asked for a vernacular translation. The Preface was in existence probably by the mid-960s, that is, shortly after I Ethelwold was consecrated bishop of Winchester (963) and well before c. 973, the presumed date for the Benedictional. I Ethelwold's remark with regard to King Edgar has, not implausibly, been taken to include devout laymen all over the country who, in I Ethelwold's view, ought to take an interest in the teaching and the precepts of the *Regula*.¹⁰⁵ Evidence from the Benedictional seems to corroborate this assumption. This evidence is found in the benedictions accompanying St Benedict's feast picture. In this connection it may be significant to note that of the group of three confessors - Gregory, Benedict, Cuthbert - only Benedict has a special set of benedictions and a feast picture.¹¹⁶ The benedictions for St Benedict are of English origin and hence were arguably composed in I Ethelwold's school.¹⁰⁷

The second and third of the benedictions are of special relevance with regard to Benedict as a saintly model also for pious laymen:

Sicque cor uestrum irradiet, ut ea quae in domo Dei ex huius uita patroni recitantur, uiscerabiliter intelligatis, et intelligendo quantotius imitari possitis. Amen.

Quatinus eius exemplis eruditi, necnon et suffragiis muniti, momentum labentis aeui transeatis illesi, atque in aeterna requiae [for requiel illi cum palma gloriae ualeatis adiungi. Amen.

And may he {the omnipotent Lord} illumine your heart so that you might be able to understand inwardly those things that are read in the house of God from the Life of this father and by understanding you might be able to imitate him as often as possible. Amen.

So that instructed by his examples and also strengthened by his prayers, you might pass unharmed through the brief span of this transitory life and might be joined to him with the palm of glory in eternal peace. Amen.¹⁰⁸

Benedictions, that is tripartite prayers, as found in the Benedictional, were said during mass on Sundays and feast days after the Pater noster and immediately before communion; they could be pronounced by a bishop only (if no bishop was present, no benedictions were said).¹⁰⁹ The benedictions, therefore, were of high-class liturgical status in being a pontifical prerogative, and they occupied a prominent place in a part of the liturgy where the laity will have been present. ¹¹⁰

In other words, the benedictions pronounced on St Benedict's feast day will have been heard by laymen and monks alike, and they should be understood as addressing both groups alike. What is especially important for our purpose is their claim that the incentive for taking St Benedict's saintly life as a model comes from hearing and understanding the details of the 'Life of this father'. It is difficult not to see a link between the wording of the benedictions for St Benedict's feast day and IElfric's provision of a vernacular Life of the saint, a uita containing the details of Benedict's life, almost all of them as given in the source, but scarcely anything else found in the same source.

CONCLUSION

We set out on our exploration of IElfric's Lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict on the presumption that the representation of these saints by IElfric might have been influenced by IEthelwold's Benedictional. It will be recalled that for IElfric (adopting the circle of the year as his structural principle for the Catholic Homilies) it was only possible to group the three Lives together by selecting for commemoration Benedict's dies natalis (21 March), instead of his translatio (11 July), which for a Benedictine monk would have been

the more obvious choice, and is, in fact, the day commemorated in the Benedictional.¹¹ The links between the Benedictional and IElfric's hagiography are most palpable in the case of Benedict, but, arguably, such links also exist with regard to Gregory and Cuthbert. These two figure less prominently or not at all in the body of the Benedictional, but in the programmatic prefatory miniature of the 'Choir of Confessors' Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert are jointly given a pre-eminent role as the founding fathers and pillars of the English church. iElfric, too, may have conceived of his three Lives as a 'Choir of Confessors', and this may be why he grouped them together. Such a closely knit and interrelated 'Choir of Confessors' is further suggested by an observation we made concerning IElfric's representation of St Cuthbert. We have seen that he deprived Cuthbert of much of his role as a monk and monastic bishop (as he found it in Bede's *uitae*), stressing instead his iconism as a solitary demon fighter and miracle worker.¹² Given the outstanding importance (even in comparison to Gregory and Cuthbert) which is assigned to St Benedict in the Benedictional and presumably was assigned to him in zEthelwold's teaching, it is possible that 'Elfric deliberately suppressed many of the details concerning Cuthbert the monk-bishop in order to shine full light on Benedict, the saint who ever since the Gregorian mission had decisively shaped the history of the English church, at least according to the new Benedictines' understanding of English ecclesiastical history. A final observation may point in the same direction. For his *Life of St Benedict* IElfric drew exclusively on the second book of Gregory's *Dialogi*. The Cotton-Corpus Legendary, on the other hand, which so often influences IElfric's hagiography," commemorates St Benedict on 4 December by the *Historia translationis S. Benedicti* (BHL 1117), composed, presumably, by Adrevald of Fleury (d. c. 879).⁴ We may suspect that it was more than the Anglo-Saxon veneration of Pope Gregory which, for once, prevented YElfric from making any use of the material in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary: the Benedict who had decisively shaped the English church was the Benedict of Monte Cassino, author of the *Regula* and abbot of Europe's archmonastery, not the Benedict of Fleury, working post-mortem miracles there.

Swithun and Æthelthryth: two saints 'of our days',¹

With this chapter we enter a different work: the *Lives of Saints*. Do we also enter a different world, that is, an intellectual, spiritual or narratological ambience that is tangibly distinguished from the one prevailing in the *Catholic Homilies*? What may be deduced about the *Lives of Saints* in contradistinction to the *Catholic Homilies* - their date, their subject matter and manner of discourse, their aims - is based on the sparse remarks by JElfric himself in his various prefaces to both works.²

THE TWO COLLECTIONS

From these prefaces it is clear that IElfric intended the two works as a sequence: the two volumes of *Catholic Homilies* (each containing forty pieces) were to be followed by at least one volume of *Lives of Saints* (again approximately forty pieces). It is possible, but not provable, that at one point IElfric had in mind composing a second volume of saints' *Lives* in order to match entirely the two series of *Catholic Homilies*.³ The composition of the *Lives of Saints* can be assigned to the years c. 994 x c. 998, that is, after the completion of the *Second Series of Catholic Homilies*, and before the death of T-thelweard, ealdorman of the western provinces, to whom the *Lives of Saints* are dedicated (and who, in both their prefaces, is referred to as alive).⁴ The most obvious differences (habitually pointed out by commentators) between the *Catholic Homilies* on the one hand and the *Lives of Saints* on the other, can, again, be deduced from 'Elfric's own remarks: the *Catholic Homilies* are of a predominantly exegetical nature, expounding the gospel pericopes read at mass in the course of the year,⁵ and are meant to be preached to a lay congregation by a priest in the church; ⁶ whereas the *Lives of Saints* contain hagiography and were composed for private devotional reading, the implication being that with this collection FElfric addressed an audience which was literate at least in the vernacular. However, again on the evidence of FElfric's own words, these distinctions between the two collections are by no means clear-cut (a fact also often pointed out by commentators). Thus, the *Catholic Homilies* were designed, to

some extent, for private reading as well as for public preaching, while the Lives of Saints could alternatively be read out to an audience,⁹ even though, judging by the average length of the pieces in both collections, the Catholic Homilies would no doubt be better suited for public recitation, as would most of the Lives of Saints be for private reading. Nevertheless, going by their length, the vitae of Cuthbert and Benedict, for example, would sit more comfortably with the Lives of Saints than with the Catholic Homilies.¹⁰

The appearance of Cuthbert and Benedict, as well as Gregory, in the Catholic Homilies points to the second of the aforementioned differences between the two collections being also blurred: the Catholic Homilies do contain hagiography, and among the Lives of Saints sermons can be found which pertain to matters of doctrine. According to Malcolm Godden's analysis, some twenty-six texts in the two series of Catholic Homilies are hagiography; and though the twenty-seven saints' Lives by Ælfric form the bulk of the collection as it is printed by Skeat, some six texts in the Lives of Saints are of a non-hagiographical nature." Again, Ælfric in his prefaces points to this overlap between the two collections, at least with regard to hagiography. As he says, the Catholic Homilies contain, in addition to the exegesis of the gospel pericopes, the Lives of a number of saints who were culted nationwide,¹² whereas the Lives of Saints relate the 'passiones etiam uel uitas sanctorum illorum quos non uulgi sed coenobite officiis uenerantur'.¹³ There are various reasons why we should, perhaps, not assign too much importance to Ælfric's distinction concerning the status of the saints in the two collections. For one thing, Ælfric himself seems to have created some fuzzy edges by, for example, relating the martyrdom of Pope Alexander and his companions in Catholic Homilies IIxx, saints who would scarcely have been culted universally in English churches;¹⁴ or by having a Life of St Martin in the Catholic Homilies (IIxxxiv) and in the Lives of Saints (II.xxxi). We have noted (above, p. 95) that, even with Cuthbert, there is no absolute certainty that, by the time Ælfric composed his Life, Cuthbert was venerated in every single church in the 'Kingdom of the English'. In addition to the fuzziness created by the inclusion of a particular saint in one collection or the other, we have to bear in mind that, throughout the Middle Ages, the cult and popularity of saints was, to a large extent, a local affair, but that, in the locality where a saint was venerated, the laity will have actively participated in his or her cult, as is demonstrated by Ælfric's vivid description of the cult of St Swithun and of the effects which this - presumably still monastic commemoration - had on the Old Minster community. We should

further recall here that around the millennium monastery churches, alongside minsters, were actively involved in administering the parish.¹⁵

What A lfric seems to imply by referring to monastic commemoration of saints is, perhaps, that most of the saints featuring in the Lives of Saints had their uitaes and passiones assembled in legends such as the huge CottonCorpus legendary,¹⁶ and that portions of their hagiography were read out during the monastic night Office on their feast day,¹⁷ but that there was not in each case a fully fledged liturgical commemoration, involving for example a proper mass set (though locally there may well have been). On this assumption, 'Elfric's remark concerning the saints in his collection being commemorated by monks would be the nearest we can get in tracking down his primary intention when writing the Lives ofSaints: to provide, in a modest format, a vernacular legendary, to be set alongside the Latin monastic legends of the Cotton-Corpus type, and suitable for the laity, either for private devotional reading or for public instruction and edification.¹⁸

In short, from what IElfric lets us glimpse of how he conceived his two collections, there is no reason to think that for him it would have made a fundamental difference whether a saint's uita was to be included in the Catholic Homilies or in the Lives of Saints. On the other hand, from our exploration of the three Lives from the Catholic Homilies it will have become clear that for .1 lfric there was no stereotyped approach to the composition of a saint's Life. In each case he adapted the material which he found in his sources to suit his specific notions and purposes; and on occasion, he would transcend the limits of a single Life and loosely group together the Lives of several saints to illustrate a concept which was of cardinal importance for him, such as the representation of SS Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert as founding fathers of the English church, in accordance with their representation in the Benedictional of his mentor IÆthelwold. It remains to be seen how he employed his characteristic approach and flexible narrative modes in the two uitaes of Swithun and JÆthelthryth which we will consider in the present chapter.

Before turning our attention to these two saints, however, mention must briefly be made of the one important difference between the Catholic Homilies and the Lives of Saints: the difference in their textual transmission. While the transmission of the Catholic Homilies reveals 'Elfric's lifelong concern with these texts, rearranging them, polishing them, paying meticulous attention to details of style and

language,¹⁹ no manuscript of the *Lives of Saints* has survived which bears the stamp of IElfric's authority.²⁰ Even the earliest and most complete manuscript of the *Lives*, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii, dating from the very beginning of the eleventh century, contains four saints' *Lives* not by JElfric, an interpolation which no doubt would have met with his vehement disapproval.²¹ It is, perhaps, futile to speculate why textual interpolation and corruption in the *Lives* set in at such an early stage. In any case, we may be certain that the master-copies of the *Lives of Saints* left JElfric's scriptorium in a state of textual and linguistic perfection similar to that found in the copies of the Catholic Homilies which can be associated with his scriptorium such as BL, Royal 7 C. XII and Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28. On the philological side this authorial perfection can be [recovered to some extent, that is, it can be shown that the master copies of the *Lives of Saints* were written in impeccable Standard Old English, in spite of the scribal eccentricities which Julius E. vii now presents.](#)²² In any event, when dealing with the *uitae* of Swithun and IElthelthryth, we will have to bear in mind the textual state of the *Lives of Saints* and to consider whether JElfric's early loss of control over the collection may have influenced the form and structure in which the two *uitae* have been preserved.²³

THE LITURGICAL COMMEMORATION OF SS SWITHUN AND IETHELTHRYTH

By the end of the tenth century, Swithun and IElthelthryth were 'recent' saints in comparison to Gregory, Benedict, and even Cuthbert, and this allows us intriguing glimpses of young A-lfric eyewitnessing the burgeoning cults of the two English saints; cults moreover, which were created and promoted almost single-handedly by his teacher Athelwold. In order to form some notion of the dissemination of these recent cults and to gauge the impact which their spread may have had on JElfric's *uitae*, we may briefly consider the liturgical commemoration of Swithun and JElthelthryth as it survives in late-tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts, and compare it with the liturgical commemoration we have observed for Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert. From such comparison two points immediately become clear: in the liturgy Swithun and 'Elthelthryth are more or less of the same standing, and they both take their place alongside Cuthbert more often than with the long-established saints Gregory and Benedict.

First, the commemoration in Anglo-Saxon calendars. Of the two feasts of St JEthelthryth, twenty-five calendars or calendar fragments are extant for the date of the deposition, 23 June: it is recorded in twenty-one of these calendars. For the date of her translation, 17 October, there are twenty-six calendars, and the feast is recorded in twelve of these. For Swithun there are three feasts; for the date of his deposition, 2 July, twenty-five calendars are extant, nineteen of these recording the feast. For the translation, 15 July, there are equally twenty-five calendars, eighteen recording this feast; two of these as later, but pre-1100, additions. Swithun's ordination, 30 October, is (similar to YEthelthryth's translation) less frequently recorded: twenty-four calendars are extant, but only four of these have the feast.²⁴ Given the late-tenth-century origin of both cults, we may not expect to find Swithun and T-helthryth commemorated in calendars of an early date. Thus, neither Swithun nor TEthelthryth are recorded in the following calendars: Paris, BNF, lat. 10837, s. viii in (Gneuss, no. 897; the Calendar of St Willibrord); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Lat. fol. 877, s. viii^m (Gneuss, no. 791; the Hauzenstein fragment, covering entries only from July to October, so there is no evidence for JEthelthryth's deposition); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63, written in 844 or 867 x 892 (Gneuss, no. 611); and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27, s. xi (920s?; Gneuss, no. 641; the Junius Psalter). Interestingly, however, one early fragment (now lost), with clear Northumbrian connections, Munich, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Raritatensekt 108, s. viii² (Gneuss, no. 85 5.5) contains an entry for /Ethelthryth's depositio, but she is not styled a saint.²⁵ Interestingly further, Swithun's depositio and translatio are entered as a pre-1100 addition in the above-mentioned Digby 63, a calendar originally written in Northumbria, but of tenth-century Winchester (Old Minster) provenance. The commemoration of 'Elfheah, i thelwold's successor as bishop of Winchester, and subsequently archbishop of Canterbury (1006-12), on 12 March is the only other addition to the original calendar. The earliest commemoration for both Swithun and 'Ethelthryth (each with one feast only) is in Salisbury, Cathedral Library 150, the Salisbury Psalter; s. x² (probably 969 x 987), perhaps from Shaftesbury (Gneuss, no. 740). The near-contemporary calendar in the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579; Gneuss, no. 585), probably 979 x 987, perhaps from Canterbury or Glastonbury, commemorates the deposition of YEthelthryth only.

The mass books

Of the late-tenth- and eleventh-century sacramentaries and missals²⁶

the New Minster Missal, predictably, has mass sets for two feasts of St Swithun, the deposition and the translation. It is interesting that the deposition - not the translation on 15 July, which subsequently became known as 'St Swithun's Day' - is given especial prominence with a double mass set of six prayers, and vigils on the day before. This may point to the importance of the deposition (2 July) persisting well into the eleventh century.²⁷ For 'Ethelthryth the New Minster Missal has a mass set only for her deposition on 23 June.²⁸ In the Sacramentary of Archbishop Robert of Jumieges, 'Ethelthryth and Swithun are commemorated on one of their feasts each: the deposition in the case of Ethelthryth and the translation in that of Swithun.²⁹ As with Cuthbert (but unlike Benedict or Gregory) neither Ethelthryth nor Swithun are honoured by a proper mass set in the Winchcombe Sacramentary or in the Leofric Missal. For the Leofric Missal this was entirely predictable since its sanctorale is not only continental or continentally derived ('Leofric A') but also dating from c. 900, and hence too early.³⁰ In the case of the Winchcombe Sacramentary the omission of Ethelthryth and Swithun is explained by the fact that, apart from St Kenelm, the sacramentary commemorates no English saint, which in turn is consonant with the possibility that the book may have been written for exportation to a continental centre in Francia, perhaps Fleury.' It is, however, this possible destination which makes one wonder why Swithun is not included in the Winchcombe Sacramentary: his hagiography started with the voluminous and elaborate *Historia translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*, composed at Winchester by Lantfred, a monk from Fleury who, after a sojourn with the Old Minster community in the early 970s, subsequently returned to his home monastery. Moreover, in order to assert Swithun's international reputation, Lantfred reports several miracles performed by him in Francia.³² Perhaps, the Winchcombe Sacramentary (s. x314 or s. x14) was simply written too early, during the years when the cult of Swithun was only in its incipient stages, and we should therefore not attach too much weight to its omission of the saint. But, in combination with the fact that no mention either is made of Swithun in the calendar in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 - probably written at Ramsey in the late tenth century and subsequently taken to Fleury by Abbo when he returned there in 987 - it is equally possible that the omission of Swithun from the Winchcombe Sacramentary may be taken to indicate that the exportation of Swithun's cult to continental centres can in no way compare with the continental cult of St Cuthbert in the eighth and ninth centuries, boosted there by Bede's hagiography."

When we now turn to the evidence of the litanies, we find that both Swithun and I Ethelthryth are well represented in the invocations, that they are almost on a par, and on a par with Cuthbert, but clearly less represented than Gregory and Benedict: 'Ethelthryth occurs in twenty-six of the fortysix manuscripts printed by Michael Lapidge, and Swithun in twenty-three. In none of the manuscripts containing two or three litanies do Swithun or I Ethelthryth occur in more than one.³' Swithun occurs in almost all the litanies which invoke E Ethelthryth and vice versa. There is only one litany (Worcester Cathedral Library, F. 173, Lapidge, no. XLVI, written s. ximed at the Old Minster, Winchester) where Swithun has his name written in capital letters (he is the only saint in this litany accorded this distinction); and this is the one litany where Swithun is invoked but I Ethelthryth is absent, though originally she may have been recorded there, since most of the names in the list of virgins are now illegible.³⁵ Athelthryth's name is never written in capital letters or marked for repetition; but in one litany (BL, Arundel 60, written s. xi2 at the New Minster, Winchester) she is invoked in two places in the list of virgins, though this may be just an error, the litany being excessively long.³⁶ There are four litanies which invoke I Ethelthryth but not Swithun:

London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427 (Lapidge, no. XXVII, the Lambeth Psalter). Here the litany is a much later, probably fifteenth-century, addition, and though it may have replaced an original eleventh-century litany, the original form of this cannot now be recovered.³⁷

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718 (s. xi2 or s. xiex, uncertain from where in England; Lapidge, no. XXX). This litany invokes I Ethelthryth as the only English saint. ³⁸

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud misc. 482 (s. ximed or s. xi2, from Worcester; Lapidge, no. XXXIV). In this litany Y Ethelthryth is the sole English virgin; among the confessors, SS Chad, Machutus and Brendan are the only Insular saints.'

Rouen, Bibliotheque municipale, 274 (Y6), the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumieges (1014 x 1023, from Peterborough (?) or Ely (?); Lapidge, no. XL). Among the confessors, Cuthbert and Guthlac are the only English saints. In the list of virgins, apart from I Ethelthryth, three other Ely saints are invoked.⁴⁰

In short, if we exclude the litany in Lambeth 427 as an unreliable

witness, the other three manuscripts contain no or exceedingly few English confessors, so the absence of Swithun is surely not significant. On the other hand, I Ethelthryth is assigned an outstanding importance in the two Oxford manuscripts for reasons which are irrecoverable; whereas the case of Rouen, *Bibliothèque municipale*, 274 may teach us that in evaluating a saint's standing, consideration of only one form of liturgical commemoration may be misleading. Swithun is absent from the litany in the *Sacramentary of Robert*, but he, as well as Y Ethelthryth, has a mass set in this manuscript, and both Swithun and Y Ethelthryth are commemorated in its calendar.⁴¹ For J Ethelthryth this is one of the twelve calendars which record also her translation (17 October), and for Swithun it is one of the only four calendars which record his ordination (30 October) in addition to the deposition and the translation. For 'Ethelthryth, therefore, the evidence of all three types of liturgical commemoration in the Rouen manuscript is in consonance, while for Swithun the evidence from the litany contrasts with that from the sacramentary and the calendar. In sum, however, the evidence from the Anglo-Saxon mass books, calendars and litanies combines to show that the liturgical commemoration of 'Ethelthryth and Swithun in all parts of the 'Kingdom of the English' must have spread rapidly subsequent to the establishment of their cult in the late tenth century.

Hymns

Among the various forms of liturgical commemoration the 'recent' character of Swithun's and T Ethelthryth's cults may, perhaps, best be glimpsed from the hymns. Whereas in Anglo-Saxon hymnals Gregory and Cuthbert were each assigned one hymn for their feast day, and Benedict was distinguished by being accorded three hymns,⁴² no hymns for Swithun or T Ethelthryth occur in one of the hymnals preserved from Anglo-Saxon England. Of course, only relatively few saints venerated in a locality were honoured by a proper hymn; more often a hymn pertaining to the commune sanctorum was chanted on a saint's feast day, that is, the hymn assigned to 'one martyr', one confessor', or 'one virgin', and this will no doubt have been the case in many of the churches where Swithun and 'Ethelthryth were commemorated" However, two hymns for St Swithun are preserved in two manuscripts of Winchester origin, dated c. 1000; these hymns in abecedarian, epanaleptic distichs were almost certainly composed by Wulfstan of Winchester, the author of the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*.⁴⁴ The only hymn for St Ethelthryth surviving from Anglo-Saxon England is a long poem, again in abecedarian, epanaleptic distichs, composed by none other than Bede. Although styled 'hymn'

by Bede himself, it is clear that - unlike the hymns for St Swithun - this poem was not primarily intended for use in the Divine Office. As Bede says, he has joined it to his prose account of Rthelthryth's saintly life, 'imitating the method of holy Scripture in which many songs are inserted into the history and, as is well known, these are composed in metre and verse'.⁴ Bede's poem found at least one enthusiastic late-eighth-century reader: Alcuin, who referred to it in glowing terms in his poem on 'The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York'.⁴⁶ Even though Bede's poem does not belong to liturgical commemoration in a narrow sense, it was, as we shall see, a crucial text for I Ethelwold and his circle when they started promoting the cult of 'Ethelthryth in earnest, and it formed an important link between the early, Northumbrian-based veneration of J Ethelthryth and her later Anglo-Saxon cult as a pan-English saint.

I Ethelthryth and Swithun in the Benedictional of E Ethelwold

The Benedictional of T Ethelwold, datable to the early 970s, perhaps 973, is the earliest liturgical witness to the cult of both saints in late Anglo-Saxon England. We have noted in an earlier chapter some important parallels in the representation of Swithun and T-thelthryth in the Benedictional, such as their dual depiction: as individual saints each in their feast pictures, and as a member of the groups of saints portrayed in the prefatory and programmatic 'Choir of Confessors' and 'Choir of Virgins' respectively.⁴⁷ While this dual depiction of T Ethelthryth is still extant in the surviving miniatures of the Benedictional, the folio which contained the group of confessors in which, presumably, Swithun was portrayed has been lost. That Swithun was indeed included in this now missing part of the 'Choir of Confessors' has very plausibly been argued by Robert Deshman.⁴⁸ This demonstrable or reconstructed appearance of 'Ethelthryth and Swithun in the choirs of virgins and confessors links them with the three other saints we have been considering: Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert, who are included in the surviving part of the 'Choir of Confessors'. A further link between these three saints and 'Ethelthryth is that they are identified by their names and distinguished by their portraiture within their respective choirs, which otherwise consist of anonymous groups of confessors and virgins.⁹ We may be permitted to think that Swithun would have been similarly identified and distinguished in the now lost part of the 'Choir of Confessors' where he was probably included. It is clear therefore that for Bishop i Ethelwold and the artists of his Benedictional these five saints were the cornerstones and pillars of the English church.⁵⁰

Comparison of the group Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert on the one hand, and 'Ethelthryth and (presumably) Swithun on the other, reveals the prominent position of the last two among the saints of the Benedictional: both zEthelthryth and Swithun have a feast picture and an individual set of benedictions each. Of the other three, only Benedict is distinguished in this way, while Gregory has a set of benedictions but no feast picture, and Cuthbert has no proper benedictions and hence also no feast picture.⁵¹ One might argue, therefore, that in the Benedictional's iconography and texts the 'foundational group', consisting of Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert, is balanced and, to some extent, outweighed by the 'tenth-century group', consisting of Benedict, zEthelthryth and Swithun, with Benedict linking the early English church with the monastic-reform church.

In his interpretation of i thelthryth's feast picture Robert Deshman has drawn attention both to its uniqueness and to its allusions to Bede's hymn on I Ethelthryth.⁵² Thus, TEthelthryth's is the only feast picture which has a historiated initial (of the first benediction) on the facing page. The figure of Christ in this initial and that of i thelthryth relate to each other by their gestures and by the books they hold. The books probably symbolize JEthelthryth's marriage vows to Christ, her spouse, which feature so prominently in Bede's poem.⁵³ The flower which JEthelthryth holds in her left hand refers to the floral symbolism in Bede's poem. ⁵⁴ Further allusions to Bede's poem and to his preceding prose account of JEthelthryth's life can be found in the accompanying benedictions. These are of English origin and were presumably composed for the Benedictional and under Bishop 'Ethelwold's personal supervision.⁵⁵ Such allusions are to EEthelthryth's preservation of virginity in two marriages, (again) to her betrothal to Christ, to her incorruptible body as a sign of her virginity, to her post-mortem miracles. Interestingly, in all three of her benedictions JEthelthryth is represented as a model to be followed by all who receive these benedictions on her feast day.⁵⁶ The parallel to the benedictions invoking St Benedict is obvious:⁵⁷ the biography of both saints should serve as an incentive for laymen, monks and nuns alike to lead an exemplary saintly life.

By way of contrast, Swithun's feast picture is devoid of individualistic detail. Deshman has drawn attention to the prominence of architectural traits in the representation of the saint.⁵⁸ Thus, Swithun is integrated into the architectural frame of his feast picture, for example by the arrangement of his tunic, and is thereby depicted

as a column of the church. As Deshman has also shown, such integration of human figures into the architectural frame of the picture is an important feature in the surviving part of the 'Choir of Confessors', and he therefore speculates that Swithun's integration into the architecture of his feast picture is simply taken over from his depiction in the 'Choir of Confessors'.⁵⁹ If so, this would strikingly illustrate the artists' pragmatic response to the utter lack of detail from Swithun's life; and it would be in pronounced contrast to the representation of Benedict and Æthelthryth in the choirs and in their feast pictures respectively, where in each case different aspects of the saint's importance and symbolism are stressed.⁶⁰ Deshman also draws attention to the liberal use of gold in Swithun's portrait, which he links with the supernatural radiance often mentioned in Lantfred's *Translatio*.⁶¹ If, as has been convincingly suggested,⁶² Lantfred composed his *Translatio* in about late 972 or in 973, the earliest hagiographic text for Swithun would be precisely contemporary with his portraiture in the *Benedictional*, and might plausibly have been drawn on by the artists of that book. Further confirmation that Lantfred's *Translatio* may indeed have been available at the time the *Benedictional* was produced comes from the set of benedictions for Swithun's feast day. Again, these are of English origin and were presumably composed under Æthelwold's supervision. ⁶³ Predictably, and in consonance with his portraiture, in the three benedictions there is no reference to Swithun's life. What is stressed there is his character as a 'recent' saint, revealed 'almost in the last days of the world';⁶⁴ his intercessory powers; ⁶⁵ his abundant and 'all but inexpressible supply of miracles',⁶⁶ whose purpose is 'constantly [to] ignite the torch of faith',⁶⁷ and to make those who witness his miracles 'persevere with good works'. ⁶⁸ As we shall see, all these details from the benedictions for Swithun's feast day are recurrent features in Lantfred's *Translatio* - and in Ælfric's 'Life of St Swithun'.

ÆLFRIC'S 'LIFE OF ST SWITHUN'

Ælfric could not have avoided writing a *Life of St Swithun*. For a Winchester alumnus there were things one simply had to do. Once he had embarked on writing hagiography and, perhaps, on the ambitious undertaking of composing an English legendary, there was no way of sidestepping Winchester's most renowned saint. It is possible that, in view of the momentum which Swithun's cult had gained during his lifetime, Ælfric may have thought it necessary to provide a hagiographic account in English for those who were in no position to study the official Latin hagiography - if only to curb by his written

account any unauthorized oral traditions. Such traditions must have proliferated in the case of a saint of whom, at least throughout the 970s, fresh and spectacular miracles were reported almost daily, and Alfric himself lets us glimpse these oral traditions at one point in his narrative.'

It should be stated at the outset that the 'Life of St Swithun' leaves us much in the dark with regard to its author's innermost thoughts on the events recorded there. It is safe to presume, however, that 'Elfric was not much in favour of the hagiographic genres by which he had to commemorate Swithun. i lfric's Life is no uita, but rather belongs with the translationes and miracula, that is, accounts of a saint's translations to a more prestigious resting place, and of his or her post-mortem miracles. We have seen that in his 'Life of St Cuthbert' IElfric jettisoned all post-mortem miracles;⁷⁰ we have also seen that for his 'Life of St Benedict' IElfric drew exclusively on Gregory's *Dialogi* and not at all on the *Historia translationis S. Benedicti* by Adrevald of Fleury, by which Benedict was commemorated in the CottonCorpus legendary.⁷¹ But with Swithun, i lfric had no choice. Nothing is known of the life of this obscure ninth-century bishop of Winchester (85263); all that survives are his attestations in a few of King JEthelwulf's and one of King iEthelred's charters, his episcopal profession to the archbishop of Canterbury, and a brief (tenth-century?) poem recording that he built a bridge at the East Gate of Winchester.⁷² Whereas Lantfred, in the Prefatory Letter to his *Translatio*, merely mentions that 'we know very little concerning the marvellous signs, portents and miracles which this saint performed by means of his prayers during his lifetime',⁷³ without being more specific or commenting on the situation, the *Epitome* of Lantfred's work states explicitly that we have no knowledge of Swithun's life 'since no writings are available'.⁷⁴ IElfric, in consonance with the *Epitome*,⁷⁵ remarks that he was unable to find anything about Swithun on bocum, and, significantly, blames the bishop's contemporaries since 'it was the negligence on behalf of those who knew him during his lifetime, that they did not wish to write down his deeds and conduct for the benefit of future men who did not know his mighty works'.⁷⁶ All 'Elfric can do to remedy the situation is to insert the information, derived from an episcopal list, that there were eight bishops between Swithun and iEthelwold.⁷⁷

Swithun's contemporaries may have irresponsibly neglected to record the events of his life (if neglect it was and not simply a lack of noteworthy events), and A lfric felt deeply uncomfortable with this

situation, and yet, for *Ælfric* scholars the 'Life of St Swithun' is an immensely valuable text. We know precisely which sources *Ælfric* drew on; we also know that he was a colleague of the two principal authors of the Latin hagiography of Swithun, and that the miracles which he and his sources report were contemporary events, many of which must have been witnessed by *Ælfric* in person. Moreover, we are now fortunate in having at our disposal in modern editions all the hagiography of Swithun that was available to *Ælfric*, as well as a fresh edition of his own Life, in Michael Lapidge's monumental *The Cult of St Swithun*.⁷⁸

Ælfric's sources

In *The Cult of St Swithun* the sources for each chapter of *Ælfric's* text have been identified by the editor. These sources are: Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*,⁷⁹ and a brief text given the editorial title *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*.⁸⁰ Lantfred, a monk from Fleury, but resident at the Old Minster for an unspecified period of time during the early 970s, presumably composed his massive work shortly after Swithun's translation, from an outside tomb to a shrine in the cathedral, had been staged in an impressive ceremony by Bishop *Æthelwold* on 15 July 971. From internal evidence Michael Lapidge has convincingly argued for an origin in late 972 or in 973.⁸¹ Lantfred dedicated his work to the monks of the Old Minster, and it therefore was probably composed at Bishop *Æthelwold's* instigation. In other words, by the time that *Ælfric* set about writing his Life, Lantfred's text had been available for more than twenty years, and was no doubt a text with which *Ælfric* had been intimately acquainted since his schooldays.⁸²

The second of *Ælfric's* source texts, the *Epitome*, is a drastically abbreviated version of parts of Lantfred's *Translatio*. It was produced by an anonymous monk from Winchester at some point between Bishop *Æthelwold's* death in 984 and the composition of *Ælfric's* 'Life of St Swithun', c. 994 x c. 998 (probably after 996).⁸³ Michael Lapidge has made a strong case for *Ælfric* himself being the author of the *Epitome*. First, and most importantly, the epitomator employs the same technique of abbreviation that can be observed in epitomes of longer works demonstrably made by *Ælfric* such as his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* or his 'Letter to the Monks of Eynsham'.⁸⁴ Secondly, the *Epitome* survives uniquely in a manuscript, now Paris, BNF lat. 5362, written s. xi/xii by several Anglo-Norman scribes, probably in England. Together with other hagiographic excerpts and texts, the *Epitome* forms the first, distinct, part of the manuscript (fols. 1-84).

Almost all of the texts assembled in this part were used at some point by Ælfric for his vernacular hagiography. The presumption therefore is that fols. 1-84 of BNF lat. 5362 were copied from a hagiographical commonplace book compiled by Ælfric for his own use.⁸⁵ In sum, given the length and excessive verbosity of Lantfred's *Translatio*,⁸⁶ it is entirely plausible that Ælfric first should have produced excerpts from Lantfred which he subsequently laid under contribution for his *Life*.

If this hypothesis is tenable, there remain, nevertheless, a number of questions concerning Ælfric's handling of his sources: the *Epitome* abbreviates only portions of Lantfred, roughly forty per cent of the entire text; the rest of the *Translatio* is omitted altogether. In its later part the *Epitome* does not adhere to Lantfred's arrangement of chapters. For a considerable number of the chapters in the *Translatio* which have no correlate in the *Epitome*, Ælfric drew directly on Lantfred's text, and he frequently drew on Lantfred and the *Epitome* for one and the same chapter. Furthermore, Ælfric drastically rearranged the chapters with regard to both his sources, with the result that he frequently followed neither Lantfred's nor the *Epitome*'s sequence of chapters. It will, perhaps, be possible to suggest answers to some, if not all, of these questions after we have looked more closely at the narrative structure of the three texts. For reasons of clarity I give below, in tabular form, several structural synopses of the texts. These will reveal at a glance any rearrangement of chapters made in the *Epitome* and by Ælfric. The tabular synopses will also facilitate an identification of the chapters which Ælfric omitted, and of what little material he has added; they may thus be helpful in deciding what can, perhaps, be deduced from the sum of Ælfric's rearrangements, omissions and additions in his vernacular *Life*.

The structures of the *Translatio*, the *Epitome* and Ælfric's *Life*

In order to facilitate reference to Ælfric's *Life* as printed in Skeat's edition of the *Lives of Saints*, I give, as table 5.1, a collation table of the subdivisions of the text into chapters as found in Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* and used in my structural comparison, and of the line numbers in Skeat's edition. The '*Life of St Swithun*' is no. xxi in vol. I of that edition.

Table 5.1 *Subdivisions of Ælfric's Life.*

Chapters according to Lapidge, <i>The Cult of St Swithun</i>	Lines according to Skeat, <i>Lives of Saints</i>
1	1–20
2	21–41
3	41–55
4	56–73
5	74–87
6	88–94
7	95–110
8	111–131
9	132–142
10	143–155
11	156–165
12	166–177
13	178–186
14	187–192
15	193–201
16	202–222
17	223–264
18	265–289
19	290–306
20	307–317
21	318–322
22	323–337
23	338–402
24	403–413
25	414–420
26	421–423
27	424–442
28	443–463
29	496–498
[Skeat, 464–495 = Macarius episode, see below, pp. 190–1.]	

Table 5.2 presents a synopsis of the arrangement of Lantfred's chapters and of the corresponding chapters in the Epitome and Ælfric. I have provided English translations (taken from *The Cult of St Swithun*) of the chapter headings transmitted with Lantfred's text, so that some notion at least may be formed of the contents of the individual chapters. The numbers in the three columns are chapter numbers. A dash in the columns for the Epitome and Ælfric's Life indicates that there is no equivalent to a chapter in Lantfred.

Table 5.2 *The Structure of Lantfred's Translatio and its Adaptation in the Epitome and in Ælfric's Life.*

Lantfred	Epitome	Ælfric
Prefatory Letter	—	—
Preface	1	1
1 (The story of the smith's vision)	2–6	2–6
2 (Concerning the hump-backed cleric who was the first to be cured)	7	7
3 (Concerning a certain citizen of Winchester and the translation of the holy bishop Swithun)	8 9	8 9
4 (Concerning countless miracles)	10	10
5 (Concerning three blind women and a young mute)	—	11
6 (Concerning the slave-girl of the bellfounder)	—	12
7 (Concerning the paralytic cured on his sick-bed)	—	13
8 (Concerning the blind woman whose sight was restored)	—	—
9 (Concerning a lady who was twice restored to health)	—	—
10 (How the saint appeared to a certain lady in her sleep)	14	17
11 (Concerning the paralytic from London)	—	—
12 (Concerning sixteen blind people from London)	—	—
13 (About another lame man from London)	—	—
14 (Concerning the twenty-five sick people who were cured in one day)	—	—
15 (Concerning the boy who was blind for five years)	—	—

(cont.)

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

Lantfred	Epitome	Ælfric
16 (About the man who, becoming blind, went to Rome)	—	15
17 (Concerning a paralytic from Rochester)	—	—
18 (Concerning a blind man whom an angry guide abandoned)	—	16
19 (Concerning four sick persons of either sex)	—	—
20 (Concerning the woman who was invisibly transported to the saint)	—	—
21 (About two women, of whom one was blind, the other mute)	—	—
22 (Concerning 36 sick people who were cured)	11	14
23 (Concerning 124 sick people who were cured)	12	21
24 (About the man who murdered a kinsman)	—	— (but cf. ch. 26)
25 (About the man who carried some red-hot metal in his bare hand)	—	—
26 (Concerning the man whom the judges had blinded)	13	18
27 (About the man who cut through an immense beam with a tiny knife)	—	—
28 (Concerning Prior Byrhtferth)	—	—
29 (Concerning the blind man who received his eyesight on a journey)	—	—
30 (Concerning the man who was infirm and lame)	—	—

Table 5.2 (*cont.*)

Lantfred	Epitome	Ælfric
31 (Concerning the boy who fell from a horse)	—	22
32 (Concerning the woman who was cured in France)	—	—
33 (About another French woman)	—	—
34 (About the overseas thief)	—	—
35 (About the vision of a certain nobleman on the Isle of Wight)	—	23
36 (About a young man who was blind)	—	—
37 (About a certain crippled young man)	—	—
38 (Concerning the woman bound up in manacles)	—	—
39 (About the slave who was bound up in chains)	—	25
40 (Doxology)	—	—

An inspection of Lantfred's sequence of chapters reveals that he did not record Swithun's abundant miracles in a haphazard, merely accumulative fashion; rather, a number of structuring principles can be detected in his narrative. In the first part (up to and including ch. 23) there is a tendency to form groups consisting of several chapters which report miracles of a similar nature. These groups are punctuated by single chapters, which are usually very brief and of a summary character. Thus, the long chs. 2 and 3, containing detailed accounts of two miracles and culminating in Swithun's translation, are followed by the brief ch. 4, summarily reporting 'countless miracles'. Ch. 4 in turn is followed by five chapters (chs. 5-9), each of which reports individual miracles. In ch. 5 three blind women and a mute man are healed; in ch. 6 a slave-girl is freed from her shackles; and in ch. 7 a paralytic is healed. These are the first instances of the three most recurrent types of miracles in Lantfred's account: note that Ælfric apparently recognized their prototypical nature; he adapted them directly from Lantfred (they are not in the Epitome). This group of miracles is punctuated in turn by ch. 10, describing the strain which the endless succession of miracles put on the Old Minster monks and

their consequent disobedience with regard to 'Ethelwold's instructions. Chs. 11-13 report again individual healing miracles, performed on people from London; ch. 14 summarily records twenty-five healing miracles performed in one day; chs. 15-18 give individual accounts of the healings of blind persons and paralytics; ch. 19 reports summarily the healing of four persons; chs. 20 and 21 deal, once again, with individual miracles; chs. 22 and 23 are both 'summary chapters', reporting thirty-six and 124 healings respectively, and thus, being quasi-doubled, signal the conclusion of the clearly structured first part.

The second part (note that there is no division into parts indicated in the text itself) is more loosely structured. There are no 'summary chapters' to punctuate the narrative; successively related miracles still tend to form groups, but the individual groups and their miracles are somewhat more diversified. For example, chs. 24-7 relate miracles performed on persons detained by the law, each chapter being devoted to an individual miracle. Chs. 32-4 contain one miracle each which occurred in Francia, and so on. The last four chapters (chs. 36-9) before the doxology (ch. 40) sum up the entire work by giving one final example of each of the most frequent types of Swithun's miracles.

Concerning the relation of 'Elfric's text to Lantfred's *Translatio*, table 5.2 reveals that in its first part (up to and including ch. 13 of the *Life* = Lantfred, ch. 7), 'Elfric retains Lantfred's sequence of chapters and incorporates material from each of these chapters. This first part comprises about forty per cent of 'Elfric's entire text. In the remaining part, however, 'Elfric rearranges Lantfred's sequence of chapters and omits the vast majority of them: only six (perhaps seven) of the remaining thirty-three chapters of the *Translatio* find their way into 'Elfric's text.

The Epitome

By an examination of table 5.3, below, we may form a better impression of the ancillary function of the *Epitome*, mediating between Lantfred's and 'Elfric's text.

Table 5.3 *The Epitome in Relation to Lantfred*
(Chapter numbers are according to *The Cult of St Swithun*)

Epitome	Lantfred	
1	Preface	
2-6	1	(The smith's vision)
7	2	(The hump-backed cleric)
8	3 ¹	(The citizen of Winchester)
9	3 ²	(<i>Translatio</i>)
10	4	(Countless miracles)
11	22	(36 sick people)
12	23	(124 sick people)
13	26	(Man blinded by judges)
14	10	(Disobedience of OM monks)
15	cf. 3	(Brief doxology)

In an analysis of the structure of the Epitome it is important to bear in mind that, very possibly, IElfric himself composed the work, preparatory to his vernacular Life. Chs. 1-10 of the Epitome present a continuous abbreviation of Lantfred, Preface and chs. 1-4. Lantfred's Preface and chs. 1-3 are drastically abbreviated, understandably so, since they are excessively long, verbose, and studded with difficult vocabulary.⁸⁷ There is a doxology at the end of Epit., ch. 10 which is not in the corresponding chapter of the Translatio (and is not translated by IElfric). This could indicate that ch. 10 was to be the final one in the original plan for the Epitome; the implication, perhaps, being that, in the first instance, IElfric had in mind to relate in his Life only the events leading up to Swithun's translation and to conclude with a summary account of the innumerable miracles occurring after the translation. Whatever IElfric's original plan may have been, in its present form the Epitome has, after the doxology in ch. 10, five more chapters, the sequence of which (unlike that in its first part) does not agree with Lantfred's arrangement of chapters. It is possible to read this evidence in two different ways. On the first reading, IElfric extracted chs. 11 and 12 of the Epitome from Lantfred because they square well with Epit., ch. 10, and because he intended to emphasize the excessive frequency of miracles after Swithun's translation (note that chs. 11 and 12 are almost identical with Lantfred, chs. 22 and 23; there is scarcely any abbreviation). IElfric then added, for inclusion into his vernacular Life, an abbreviated version of a memorable miracle of a new type (Epit., ch. 13) and, finally, the active disobedience of the Old Minster monks as a result of all these miracles, and its peaceful settlement through the intervention

of St Swithun and Bishop JEthelwold (Epit., ch. 14). A second doxology was then brought in as a concluding sentence (Epit., ch. 15). While this reading would account for the whole content of the Epitome and its structure, it would not account for the structure and entire content of JElfric's Life. Therefore, the second way of reading the evidence from the Epitome might be preferable. According to this interpretation, after ch. 10, the Epitome no longer represents JElfric's structural plan for his Life, but is rather a collection of material which he extracted or abbreviated from Lantfred for use *ad libitum* in the Life. He lifted chs. 11 and 12 of the Epitome from Lantfred to be used in his Life as convenient discourse markers (i.e. markers to indicate a caesura in the narrative) at whatever points he thought suitable. Next he extracted and abbreviated two further chapters from Lantfred (Epit., chs. 13 and 14) with the aim of inserting them at some point (not yet defined) in his Life; and finally he extracted the doxology from ch. 3 of Lantfred (Epit., ch. 15) to be used at the end of the Life (though, in the event, he did not use this specific doxology to conclude his Life). For the rest, he planned to have recourse directly to Lantfred's text when composing his Life. It remains to be seen whether a closer inspection of the structure of iElfric's Life can support this second interpretation of the evidence.

The structure of /Elfric's Life

While table 5.3 has made clear some of the ways in which the Epitome functioned as a link in the transformation of Lantfred's *Translatio* into /Elfric's Life, the final synopsis given in table 5.4 will take us as close as we can get to iElfric's working methods and aims when restructuring his sources.

Table 5.4 *The Structure of Ælfric's Life in Relation to its Sources.*

(Chapter numbers are again according to *The Cult of St Swithun*. A dash in the column for the *Epitome* means that the *Epitome* has no chapter corresponding to Lantfred's chapter in question. In the column for Lantfred I have summarily indicated the amount of material taken directly from the *Translatio* in those cases where Ælfric drew on both, the *Epitome* and Lantfred, for one of his chapters. For brief notes on the contents of the chapters, see table 5.2, above (and, for the *Epitome*, also table 5.3, above). I have briefly indicated the contents of those chapters in Ælfric's Life which apparently have no source. For the identification of Ælfric's sources chapter by chapter, see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 591–609.)

Ælfric	<i>Epitome</i>	Lantfred
1–6	1–6	not used
7	7	2 (one sentence)
8	8	2 (some details)
9	9	not used
10	10	4 (one sentence)
11–13	–	5–7
14	11	22
	↔ almost identical	
15–16	–	16, 18
17	14	10 (some details)
18	13	26 (some details)
19 no source		
(Man mocking Swithun at vigil for a dead man being duly punished by the saint)		
20 no source		
(Against merry-making and drinking while keeping vigil over a dead body)		
21	12	23
	↔ almost identical	
22	–	31
23	–	35
24 no source		
(Warning against setting too much store by dreams)		
25	–	39
26 no source		(24; slight allusions)
(Man punished for a serious crime)		
27 no source		
(Summing up Swithun's miracles; the coming of Antichrist and Last Judgement)		
28 no source		
(The Golden Age under King Edgar)		
29 no source		
(Doxology)		

This synopsis allows us interesting glimpses of JElfric handling his two sources when structuring his 'Life of St Swithun'. With regard to the Epitome, RElfric's arrangement of chapters corroborates the suspicion that, after ch. 10, the breviare version no longer contains the sequence of events as IElfric planned to relate them, but that he indeed intended the later part of the Epitome to serve as a collection of material to be used at various points in his Life in whatever order he would eventually think suitable. Thus, chs. 11 and 12 of the Epitome are separated and, for good measure, occur at different points in zElfric's narrative, where they serve as effective discourse markers (Mfric's chs. 14 and 21). And for equally good measure, the order of Epitome's chs. 13 and 14 is reversed (occurring as lElfric's chs. 17 and 18, see below). It is further noteworthy that, with one exception, all the chapters which are not in the Epitome, but for which i lfric had sole recourse to Lantfred's text, are brief or medium-sized chapters. This could imply that ~Elfric simply marked up for translation these chapters in his copy of Lantfred but felt no need to epitomize them as an intermediate stage for his vernacular text. The one exception with regard to length is ch. 23 (Lantfred, ch. 35), the most spectacular and beautiful miracle in Lantfred's *Translatio*: the vision of the elderly, paralysed thegn from the Isle of Wight, who feels himself being seized by two angels and carried through the air to a lush meadow; in the middle of this meadow he sees a church gleaming with gold and jewels, and in front of this church Swithun, dressed in resplendent bishop's garments, ready to celebrate mass, who talks to him and subsequently heals him. Since this is a rather long chapter in Lantfred, one might have expected to find it in abbreviated form in the Epitome. But the chapter is longish in 'Elfric, too (comprising about two thirds of Lantfred's text); so, in this case, too, i lfric may have felt no need to epitomize Lantfred's chapter before he translated it. However, the possibility cannot be entirely ruled out that this chapter is not among the collected material which forms the second part of the Epitome because IElfric indeed added it to his Life as an afterthought.⁸⁸

With regard to Lantfred's text, IElfric's arrangement of chapters makes the conclusion almost inescapable that he had recognized Lantfred's major structural principle, namely to punctuate a succession of individual miracle stories by brief chapters summarily reporting the healing of a great number of persons." Thus, IElfric's chapters 10, 14 and 21 are such discourse markers, indicating a caesura in his narrative. By the same token, the story of the disobedience of the Old Minster monks (JElfric's ch. 17) is given a punctuating position - as it is in Lantfred, though positioned differently there. In 'Elfric the story of the Old Minster monks comes after two chapters which are

distinguished by recording a remarkable miracle each: ch. 15 concerns the man who failed to get cured at the shrines of the apostles in Rome, but was healed by Swithun when he returned to England; and ch. 16 is the touching story of the blind man who was abandoned by his guide. Inserted after these two chapters, the reluctance of the Old Minster monks to give due thanks to Swithun each time a miracle occurred must appear as gross ingratitude. The punctuating character of this episode is stressed when it is followed by a new type of miracle story: Swithun's intervention in favour of persons who were punished by the law (ch. 18).

Given the extreme brevity of the *Life* in comparison with the *Translatio*, /Elfric's adherence to Lantfred's structuring principle becomes all the more obvious. One wonders whether Elfric detected the mechanisms of Lantfred's compositional technique entirely through his own close study of Lantfred's text, or whether he was taught these and similar details of narrative structure at Bishop Aethelwold's school. Such teaching would square well with the stylistic concerns of this school that are apparent in the rendering of Latin prose hagiography into verse as part of its curriculum.⁹⁰

Miracles concerning persons punished by the law

What Elfric also extracted from Lantfred is the affirmation that Swithun performed miracles not only on sick persons but also on prisoners." It is palpable, however, that Elfric was very reluctant to include miracles performed by Swithun 'on gehxftum mannum'. Such stories (persons being miraculously freed from prison, or saved at an ordeal, or having their manacles or shackles falling off) were freely recorded by Lantfred and, very probably, they were also an integral part of the late-tenth-century cult of St Swithun. Therefore, Elfric could not afford to bypass them altogether, though it is obvious that he kept them to a minimum and took pains to bowdlerize them. Of the eight miracles of this type recorded by Lantfred⁹² /Elfric adopts only two," stressing in both cases that the delinquents were detained 'for swyOe lytlum gylte',⁹⁴ or 'for sumere gymeleaste'.⁹⁵ He has one further very brief and cryptic allusion to a man punished 'for his hefigum gylte',⁹⁶ which probably refers to a man in Lantfred who murdered his kins- man.⁹⁷ But it is clear that Elfric did not wish to join Lantfred in reporting miracles performed on behalf of guilty persons.

To his eight stories concerning persons who were guilty at least to some degree, Lantfred adds a ninth miracle concerning a man who

had been sentenced to appalling mutilation on grounds of a false accusation of robbery, and whose health was completely restored by Swithun's intercession. Interestingly, the story as told by Ælfric is somewhat longer than the extract found in the Epitome, though it is clear that Ælfric followed the Epitome as well as Lantfred.» He referred to Lantfred directly for some of the gruesome details of the man's mutilation, presumably because such details would stress the powerful nature of 'Godes wundor geworht on pam menu purh Swiðhunes pingunge'.⁹⁹

In accordance with Lantfred and the Epitome, Ælfric stresses that the man thus cruelly mutilated had been innocent, a point which, apparently, was crucial to Ælfric when he selected for retelling at some length this one episode out of nine similar stories in Lantfred. That the man's innocence was indeed of utmost importance to Ælfric is further suggested by the following chapter (ch. 19), in which a buffoon blasphemes Swithun and is duly and severely punished by the saint. This chapter has no source, and the message Ælfric wants to convey by joining it to the foregoing chapter is obvious: Swithun intercedes with God on behalf of innocent persons, but is ruthless towards those who are guilty. This is hagiography transformed into moral instruction. The following chapter (ch. 20, also without a source), a diatribe against drinking at the vigils over dead people, carries this moral instruction one step further. But in spite of the episode being so eminently suited to Ælfric's purposes, it is almost certain that he did not invent the story of the buffoon as told in ch. 19; rather, this story probably lets us glimpse the oral tradition which the cult of Swithun will have fostered in the decades after 971.¹⁰⁰

Dream visions

There is one further important aspect of the Latin hagiography of Swithun which Ælfric determinedly set about transforming in the composition of his vernacular *Life*: the representation of dream visions and its significance for the unfolding cult of St Swithun. We have seen that for his 'Life of St Benedict' Ælfric was confronted with a source in which the saint's visions were given an almost equal place alongside his miracles, and that Ælfric apparently saw no difficulty in adopting this essential feature of book II of the *Dialogi*.¹⁰¹ But Swithun was different. Characteristically, the visions pertaining to Swithun's cult were told by Lantfred at great length and, frequently, with even greater rhetorical elaboration than the rest of the text. This narrative mode was adopted by Ælfric's colleague Wulfstan of Winchester when

he composed his Latin verse paraphrase of the *Translatio*, the *Narratio metrica* de S. Swithuno. Some of these visions were essential to the cult of Swithun and simply could not be discarded by Alfric, such as Swithun appearing three times in a dream to the smith of Winchester, asking to be translated;¹⁰² and probably also the vision caused by the disobedience of the Old Minster monks: here a resplendent Swithun appears in a dream to a certain respectable man' ('to a certain respectable woman' in Lantfred),¹⁰³ requesting him to report to Bishop YEthelwold the monks' negligence in performing the prescribed liturgical ceremonies in honour of the saint. The discrepancy between Lantfred and 'Elfric as regards to whom Swithun appeared in a dream has been taken to indicate that -/Elfric was better informed about the detail in question.¹⁰⁴ If so, this detail would certainly suggest that Alfric took pains to relate the story in a form as authentic as possible; a story which was probably well established in Winchester circles by the time he wrote his Life.

There were, however, visions which IElfric suppressed, though he did relate other details of the episode in question, such as the dreams, told very elaborately by Lantfred (and by Wulfstan) of the hump-backed cleric, prior to his miraculous healing by Swithun;¹⁰⁵ and the vision of the respectable citizen of Winchester, who was persecuted and seriously injured right outside the city gates by three supernatural women, two of them naked, the third decently clad but even more terrifying, and all three obviously illusions sent by the devil.¹⁰⁶ Interestingly, the *Epitome* notes, however cryptically, that the citizen's illness was caused by 'demonicis deceptionibus',¹⁰⁷ but when 'Elfric tells the story in the vernacular, the man is just 'geuntrumod swiOe yfelum broce'.¹⁰⁸

Similar to his rewriting of the story of the innocent man mutilated by the law, Io`9 there is one dream vision which /Elfric retains, but adds to, and which reveals his deep concern over a type of episode which is essential to Swithun's hagiography. The vision in question is that of the elderly thegn from the Isle of Wight.¹¹⁰ This is no doubt the most beautiful of all the dream visions in Swithun's hagiography, and both Lantfred and Wulfstan told it with great care and a lavish display of artistry;" and some of its beauty can even be glimpsed in Tlfric's condensed and sober narrative: the mysterious flight through the air, the flowering meadow, the magnificent church building, the bishop in resplendent garments and radiant with a celestial light, his identity being revealed only gradually to the stupefied thegn. We have seen that 'Elfric, who probably composed the *Epitome*, did not prepare an abbreviated version of the relevant chapter in Lantfred, and that

this is the only longish chapter in Lantfred which is translated by JElfric but not included in the Epitome. In light of JElfric's manifest reluctance to translate the dream visions in the received hagiography of Swithun, the suggestion propounded above (p. 185) gains probability: that IElfric included this vision in his Life as an afterthought, subsequent to his compilation of the Epitome.

Why do it? For one thing, it is almost inconceivable that 'Elfric, the student of sEthelwold, that eager proponent of the hermeneutic style, should not have recognized the memorable character of this touching and elaborately told episode - notwithstanding his own avowed aversion towards 'garrulous verbosity', i.e. the hermeneutic style."² More importantly, this dream vision bears the stamp of his master JEthelwold's authority: to IEthelwold the thegn from the Isle of Wight had confided his dream, and he had passed it on to Lantfred, presumably with the intention of having it included in Lantfred's work. We are told all this detail concerning the story's transmission explicitly by 'Elfric, and more vaguely by Lantfred.¹³ However, if for reasons such as these 'Elfric decided, perhaps after some hesitation, to include the vision of the thegn, he nevertheless took precautions to prevent any misinterpretation on the part of his audience - just as in the case of the man mutilated by the law. The following chapter (ch. 24), which has no source, warns against setting too much store by dreams since they may have been sent by the devil as well as by God.

In this immediate context the Macarius episode, transmitted somewhat enigmatically together with the 'Life of St Swithun' would sit well. This episode is a translation of Rufinus, *Historia monachorum*, ch. 28, and relates how an illusion, worked by wicked sorcerers on a harmless girl and those around her, was remedied by the intervention of Macarius, an Egyptian desert father. The brief passage (forty-one lines in Skeat's edition of the *Lives of Saints*) is headed *Item alia* in Julius E. vii, where it follows immediately upon the 'Life of St. Swithun'. In this manuscript, the doxology (ch. 29) which concludes the Life is marked for transposition after the Macarius episode.¹¹⁴ On this evidence one might speculate whether, at some point after he had finished the 'Life of St Swithun', IElfric translated the Macarius episode as a further warning against visions, to be incorporated into his Life, either immediately after ch. 24 (containing the general warning against devilish illusions), where it would fit well, or at the end, where the Macarius episode would have no immediate context. However, the matter is compounded by the fact that the Macarius episode, together with a further episode warning against illusions worked by sorcerers and demons (Saul and the Witch

of Endor'), occurs in two manuscripts as an appendix to Lives of Saints, no. xvii, De Auguriis.¹¹⁵ John Pope (who printed the two episodes separately)¹⁶ believed that both the Macarius and the Saul episode were originally composed for the 'Life of St Swithun'. (He did not pronounce on where in that text IElfric may have intended to insert them.) Together, these two episodes are 125 lines long, and it is doubtful whether 'Elfric would have thought it suitable to deflect attention away from Winchester's most renowned saint by including in his Life two episodes of about one quarter its length and completely unrelated to Swithun; episodes, moreover, which warn explicitly against a type of miracle which was of such cardinal importance in Swithun's hagiography. In other words, the suspicion must be that the vagabond character of the two episodes results from JElfric's early loss of control over the transmission of the Lives of Saints, and that his plans concerning their use cannot now be recovered.' n But for whatever purpose he may have intended the episodes of Macarius and Saul, they, and other passages in his work," reveal that the danger inherent in visions was a matter of deep and persistent concern to IElfric.

But why, we may ask, did he reduce the number of visions he included in his 'Life of St Swithun' when, on the other hand, he took over from his source all of St Benedict's visions? The answer probably lies with Benedict himself. He was God's elect and, as we have seen, was regarded as one of the founding fathers of the English church. Even if some of the visions he experienced were illusions, worked by the devil in order to tempt or destroy him,¹¹⁹ the man of God immediately recognized them as such and proved immune to them. But the persons who experienced visions in Lantfred's hagiography were the ordinary people of 'Elfric's day and it is a reasonable deduction that 'Elfric did not wish to encourage in any way the production of visions in his contemporaries.

In sum then, we have clear evidence that IElfric did not entirely approve of important aspects of the cult of St Swithun: a saint without a biography, who applied his miraculous and intercessory powers indiscriminately on behalf of innocent and guilty persons alike, and who had made a habit of appearing to people in their dreams. And yet, he was the paramount saint of Winchester, [culted especially at the Old Minster](#), IElfric's intellectual and spiritual home. Furthermore, it is not without pride that JElfric informs his audience that Swithun's powers are more effective than those of St Iudoc at the New Minster, or even of the apostles assembled at Rome; and that he himself grew up right in the centre of this cult.¹²⁰

How did IElfric resolve this ambivalence in his attitude towards Swithun and his cult? We find the answer in ch. 28, the last chapter before the doxology and, again, a chapter which has no source.

We habbað nu gesað be Swiohune bus sceortlice, and we secgao to soðan pmt se tima was gesalig and wynsum on Angelcynne, ba Sa Eadgar cyning bone Cristendom gefyro rode and fela munuclifa ararde; and his cynerice was wunigende on sibbe swa pmt man ne gehyrde gif anig scyphere ware buton agenre leode be Sis land heoldon; and ealle Sa cyningas be on pysum iglande wxron (Cumer and Scotta) comon to Eadgare - hwilon apes loges eahta cyningas - and hi ealle gebugon to Eadgares wissunge. pxrtoeacan wxron swilce wundra gefremode burh bone halgan Swiohun (swa swa we sadon aer) and swa lange swa we leofodon, per wurdon gelome wundra. On Sam timan waron eac wurofulle bisceopas - Dunstan se anreda et Sam ercestole, and Apelwold se arwurða, and oore gehwylce; ac Dunstan and Abelwold waron Drihtne gecorene, and hi swyðost manodon menn to Godes willan, and elc god arardon Gode to gecwemednysse: bet geswuteliao ba wundra be God wyrco burh hi.

I have now spoken thus briefly about St Swithun. And I say in truth that the time was blessed and delightful in England when King Edgar advanced Christianity and established many monasteries; and his kingdom was flourishing in peace, so that one never heard of any Viking army, except for those of the people themselves who live permanently in this land; and all the kings of the Welsh and Scots who were in this island came to Edgar - once, on one and the same day, eight kings together - and they all submitted to Edgar's rule. Furthermore, many great miracles were accomplished through the holy St Swithun, as I have mentioned previously; and as long as I have lived, there have been abundant miracles. At that time there were also distinguished bishops - the steadfast Dunstan in the archbishopric, and the venerable IEthelwold, and others like them; but Dunstan and IEthelwold had been chosen by the Lord, and they most of all exhorted men to obey God's will, [and established everything good, to the delight of God: the miracles which God performs through them make this clear.](#)¹²¹

Swithun was created a saint in the 'Golden Age of King Edgar'. It is pointless to speculate whether 'Ethelwold promoted the cult of this obscure ninthcentury bishop virtually ex nihilo, or whether he was

prompted to do so by a few enigmatic occurrences at his tomb. We move in an age when people were surrounded by a world which was, more often than not, inexplicable, menacing and hostile, and when, for example, any sudden and unaccountable healings were eagerly embraced as signs of God's continuing presence in His creation. It is also futile to speculate for what parochial reasons Athelwold may have promoted Swithun's cult so vigorously: to make his peace with the Winchester establishment after his radical and ruthlessly implemented reforms at the two minsters?¹²² To boost an Old Minster saint against New Minster's St Iudoc?¹²³ There is little doubt, however, about what, for JEthelwold, would have mattered most in the cult of Swithun. Swithun was 'revealed' as a saint (*geswutelod is s lfric's expression*) ¹²⁴ in the early 970s, that is, during the years which witnessed King Edgar's coronation at Bath, his reform of coinage, and the promulgation of the *Regularis concordia*.¹²⁵ These events signal the apogee of the monastic reform movement, but they also signal that the 'Kingdom of the English' had become an undisputed reality. Swithun's 'revelation' confirmed to Winchester and to all England that these recent political and ecclesiastical developments had indeed been pleasing to God, 'Gode to gecwemednyse', as zElfric puts it (ch. 28).

This notion that a combination of political determination, military strength and religious zeal would incline God to look favourably upon a people links the tenth-century reform movement with the Anglo-Saxon past. King Alfred in the Preface to his translation of Pope Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*¹²⁶ nostalgically looks back to a Golden Age which had successfully combined the three factors, and which, for him, was presumably situated in the eighth century or, perhaps, in the seventh; and he undertook his determined defence of the country and his equally determined pursuit of learning with the aim of restoring this Golden Age. It is clear that i lfric (through IEthelwold's teaching?) had perceived this link with the past. In the Epilogue to his translation of the Book of Judges he refers to three English kings who had been 'sigeffste burh God', Alfred, fEthelstan and Edgar (pride of place goes, predictably, to Edgar).²⁷

But there is more to /Elfric's concluding chapter than nostalgic retrospection and, perhaps, implicit criticism of King IEthelred. There is also a glimmer of hope. The sciphergas may ravage the English towns and countryside, but Swithun, the icon of the Winchester type of reform and of Edgar's reign, continues to work miracles, and in this he has recently even been joined by the holy bishops, JEthelwold and Dunstan, who had promoted his cult and who, during their lifetime,

had already been God's elect, 'Drihtne gecorene'. By referring to 'pa wundra pe God wyrce purh hi 121 IElfric assures his contemporaries that God is still with the English. Thus, Swithun, whom, in the previous generation, God had revealed as a saint in order to manifest his satisfaction with the English people, and the saintly bishops from Edgar's reign guarantee that at least some of the essential values and virtues of the 'Golden Age of Edgar' have survived into 1Elfric's own generation.¹²⁹

,IELFRIC'S ~ETHELTHRYTH

In an attempt to evaluate 'Elfric's representation of i thelthryth in comparison with that of Swithun, we find that, as in the case of Swithun, IElfric's source for his 'Life of 'Ethelthryth' is known - Bede's brief uita of the saint which is embedded in his *Historia ecclesiastica* (IV. 19[17]) - and, as with Swithun, we are therefore in a position to estimate the way in which 'Elfric rewrote his source. But whereas we have precise knowledge which items of the vast medieval hagiography of Swithun were available to 'Elfric in the mid-990s such knowledge is lacking or uncertain with regard to fEthelthryth and the other principal saints of Ely. In order to situate IElfric's 'Life of IEthelthryth' in its historical and intellectual context and to understand as comprehensively as possible his representation of IEthelthryth, we will briefly have to survey the history of Ely abbey from the time of its foundation up to the late tenth century. We shall see that Ely's fortunes during this period are closely linked to the developing cults of 'St Athelthryth and her sisters'.

Bede and `Ethelthryth and her sisters'

What can be learned about 'Ethelthryth from the *Historia ecclesiastica* is, in brief outline, as follows: 'Ethelthryth, a daughter of Anna (d. 654), king of the East Angles, was married first to Tondberht, a ruler of the South Gyrwe, and, after Tondberht's death, to Ecgrith, king of the Northumbrian, (670-85). This second marriage would have taken place in about 660. As Bede assures us, 'Ethelthryth remained a virgin throughout both marriages. Eventually, King Ecgrith asked Bishop Wilfrid, 'Ethelthryth's spiritual adviser, to persuade her to consummate the marriage, but she remained adamant on that point, and after twelve years she finally obtained permission from her husband to enter the monastery at Coldingham in northern Northumbria, where she was consecrated a nun by Bishop Wilfrid. About a year afterwards, zEthelthryth returned to her homeland, where she founded a double

monastery at Ely in about 672. From the few details which may be gleaned from Bede's account it emerges that she led an exemplary and saintly life during the seven years in which she functioned as abbess of Ely. In 679 ~Ethelthryth died of a neck tumour which was apparently caused by plague and which had been lanced three days before her death. She was buried in a wooden coffin in the nuns' graveyard. Sixteen years after her death (and hence presumably in 695), her sister Seaxburh, widow of King Eorcenberht of Kent and 'Ethelthryth's successor as abbess, decided to remove iEthelthryth's body from its first burial place and translate it to a tomb within the church. When Ethelthryth's body was elevated, it was found incorrupt, and the gaping wound on her neck, made by the physician during her terminal illness, had healed, leaving only a slight scar. As Bede points out, her doctor, one Cynefrith, who had been present at the translation, testified to this, as did Bishop Wilfrid 'and many others who knew about it'.¹³⁰ Healing miracles were reported, performed on people who touched the wooden coffin and the clothes in which iEthelthryth had originally been buried, but Bede is silent on any miracles occurring at her new tomb in the church, remarking only that at Ely, 'usque hodie in magna ueneratione habetur'.¹³¹ Bede appends to his account an abecedarian, epanaleptic 'hymnum uirginitatis' in praise of JEthelthryth, which he says he composed 'many years ago'.¹³² Here JEthelthryth joins the ranks of famous virgins who suffered martyrdom during the early persecutions: Agatha, Eulalia, Thecla, Euphemia, Agnes and Caecilia.

During the decades following the publication of the *Historia ecclesiastica*, the cult of two further members of the group that eventually was to become 'The Ely Four' must have taken its origin: Seaxburh and Eormenhild. As mentioned above, EEthelthryth was succeeded as abbess by her sister Seaxburh, who presided over her translation in 695. The only further information Bede has on Seaxburh is that she was King Anna's eldest daughter and had been married to King Eorcenberht of Kent (d. 664), by whom she had a son, King Hlothhere of Kent, and a saintly daughter, Eorcengota, who became a nun in Faremoutier-en-Brie, a Frankish double monastery, of which another of King Anna's daughters, 'Ethelburh, and a stepdaughter, Sxthryth, had in turn been abbesses.'" This is as far as Bede takes the story. From later tradition we know that Seaxburh was in turn succeeded as abbess by another daughter (not mentioned by Bede), Eormenhild, who had been married to Wulfhere (d. 675), king of the Mercians.¹³⁴ The tombs of Eormenhild and her mother Seaxburh were found within the church at the time of the refoundation of the

monastery in c. 970: Seaxburh had been laid to rest in a raised tomb, and Eormenhild was buried near her mother underneath the flagstones.³⁵

Ely Abbey before the refoundation

Almost 270 years elapsed between the publication of the *Historia ecclesiastica* in 731 and that of the *Lives of Saints* in about 998. In spite of the 'quality, quantity and variety of source material' which is available for the study of Ely Abbey, and which has no parallel in the documentation that is preserved for any other religious house in Anglo-Saxon England,³⁶ we remain in the dark about spiritual and intellectual life at Ely and the standing which the abbey and its saints enjoyed during the period between JEthelthryth's translation in 695 and the refoundation of the abbey by Bishop zEthelwold c. 970.¹³⁷ It must also be said that we have no detailed knowledge of life at Ely while T-thelthryth was abbess there. In view of the praise which Bede lavishes on 'Ethelthryth, one might conjecture that he would have reported ongoing intellectual activities under her abbacy (as he did in the case of Abbess Hild at Whitby). But then, Bede remained silent on the intellectual accomplishments of Abbess Hildelith and her nuns at Barking, the dedicatees of Aldhelm's difficult prose *De uirginitate*, and contented himself with chronicling their saintly lives. 138

From a source, which, in its original form, was probably compiled during the 970s,¹³⁹ we learn of the destruction of the monastery by the Vikings, presumably in 869/70 in the course of the Danish ravaging of East Anglia. From the same source we know that, by the mid-tenth century, the abbey was served by secular clerics.

The refoundation

It is not until the refoundation of the monastery by Bishop TEthelwold, c. 970, that the documentation for Ely becomes plentiful, and we now move on to a period of which IElfric, writing in the 990s, will have had personal recollections. ¹⁴⁰ Our principal source for this period is the *Libellus /Ethelwoldi episcopi*, a brief work in Latin, which was compiled at the instigation of Hervey, first bishop of Ely (1109-31), and which is based on vernacular sources produced at Ely during the 970s. The *Libellus* records the refoundation of Ely Abbey as a Benedictine monastery, and the process of its endowment in the subsequent decade; a process which entailed numerous transactions of landed property, not always effected with the consent of local

landowners, and which, consequently, involved Bishop zEthelwold and the first abbot, Byrhtnoth, in a series of litigations. Thus, the Libellus is a prime witness to the keen and persisting interest taken by Bishop JEthelwold in the fortunes of Ely Abbey. 141

According to Wulfstan's Vita S. Ethelwoldi, Ely was Bishop zEthelwold's first foundation of a Benedictine house outside Winchester, and was his first venture into the Fens, although Peterborough and Thorney were soon to follow suit. 142 What were 'Ethelwold's reasons for choosing Ely as the starting point for his series of foundations of Benedictine houses outside Wessex, and for his close and perduring involvement in the generous endowment of this house? We cannot be certain, and in assessing iEthelwold's involvement in Ely, we have to bear in mind that no sources of the quality of the Libellus 1Ethelwoldi are available for the other houses. Nevertheless, there are a number of indications which might explain IEthelwold's predilection for Ely. Wulfstan of Winchester reports that at the time of the refoundation Ely 'was abandoned and pertained to the royal fisc'.143 While the second of these assertions is in accordance with other evidence, 144 the first one does not seem to be confirmed by such evidence. Apart from a brief interruption caused by the Viking incursions, the church of St JEthelthryth seems to have been abandoned at no time (if not always served by monks or nuns). As Simon Keynes has pointed out, bequests to St JEthelthryth were made at least fifteen years before Ely's refoundation as a Benedictine house.1 + 5 So, indubitably, there existed an administrative unit of some sort on which to build; a unit, moreover, which enjoyed a certain respect from the local landowners. In the decision to build on this existing administrative structure, political deliberations may have played a role, on the part of King Edgar and of his trusted adviser Bishop 'Ethelwold;'46 considerations such as consolidating the West Saxon supremacy within the 'Kingdom of the English' on non-West Saxon territory by a reformed and lavishly endowed monastery of the Winchester type.147 By the same token, the refoundation of Ely may be seen as the first step in 'Ethelwold's (and Edgar's) endeavour to recreate the 'monastic empire', which once existed north and north-west of Ely, and which had played a pivotal role in the English church in the eighth and ninth centuries.148 An incident reported by the Lihellus ~Ethel- woldi may have added to Ely's attraction for IEthelwold. Presumably in the 960s, two English bishops (both, apparently, of foreign extraction) are said to have competed for obtaining Ely Abbey from King Edgar.49

Relevant as such administrative, political and ecclesiastical deliberations may have been for i thelwold's active interest in Ely, one wonders whether the prospect of promoting YEthelthryth's cult on a grand scale by gaining control over her church may not also have played an important role in his plans. The early 970s were the years when i thelwold set about establishing the cult of St Swithun in earnest, beginning with his carefully staged translation to the Old Minster on 15 July 971. We have seen that there are significant parallels in the way Swithun and YEthelthryth are represented in zEthelwold's Benedictional, produced at about the same time.] 50 we cannot say whether the idea of establishing simultaneously the veneration of a male and a female saint as two of the most important cults in the 'Kingdom of the English' was part of, 'Ethelwold's strategy, though we may recall in this connection texts from his pen, such as the Regularis concordia and Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries, where the patronage of monks' houses is entrusted to King Edgar and that of nuns' houses to Queen JElfthryth.¹⁵¹ In any case, the fact that 'Ethelwold refounded Ely as a house for monks and not as a nunnery, need not prevent us from suspecting that, with a sense of satisfaction, /Ethelwold will have noted that the two English saints over whose cults he presided with especial care and energy were a bishop and a virgin queen, that is a (male) confessor and a (female) virgin in the terminology of the litany of the saints. The refoundation of Ely as a house for monks stresses not only the importance which I Ethelwold attached to the place as a monastic institution, but also reveals the importance he attached to the cult of St I Ethelthryth. A refoundation of the original double house would have been out of the question for the Benedictine reformers;¹⁵² and by the late tenth century, English nuns' houses were no centres of intellectual and spiritual excellence. Nuns might, therefore, not have been considered proper guardians of a saint whose cult was intended to become one of the principal English cults.¹⁵³ So, ironically, anchoring the cult of St Athelthryth in a house for monks, underscores the importance which J Ethelwold attached to her cult.

For a Ethelwold, 'Ethelthryth's credentials as a saint of exceptional standing will have been fully established by Bede's account of her life and her translation. In addition, there are indications (which, however, fall short of proof) that her cult was fostered at the court of Alfred the Great. Bede's account of 'thelthryth is translated verbatim and without omissions in the Old English Bede. 154 What is - understandably - not reproduced there is the hymn on I Ethelthryth which Bede appended to his prose account. In view of the strong

tendency of the translator of the Old English Bede to abbreviate his source, often drastically,¹⁵⁵ his full translation of Bede's uita reveals the interest which he and, presumably, his audience took in IÆthelthryth, even though it will have been known to him and his audience that, meanwhile, Ely had ceased to function as a monastic house in the proper sense. A further text to be associated with King Alfred's court also makes mention of IÆthelthryth: the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Under the year 673 her foundation of Ely is recorded, and her death is entered under the year 679.¹⁵⁶ These entries, again, signal an interest in IÆthelthryth in the centre where the chronicler was active. There is yet a third text pointing in the same direction, which may possibly be associated with Alfred's scriptoria, at least for its dissemination, if not for its production: the Old English Martyrology.¹⁵⁷ Here IÆthelthryth is commemorated under 23 June by one of the longer entries, and this entry is entirely based on Bede's account.¹⁵⁸

In short, it is possible, but not provable, that 'Ethelthryth was culted at King Alfred's court. It is a reasonable assumption that zEthelwold had knowledge of at least the aforementioned witnesses suggesting such an Alfredian cult, and it may also be a fair assumption that he had more information on this point than is extant now. In light of his well-attested interest in linking the tenets and rites of the tenth-century reform with the ancient traditions of the English church, the possibility of tracing back the roots of s thelthryth's cult through Alfred to Bede must have held a great attraction for JEthelwold and will surely have played a role in his decision to refound Ely and to establish and promote ~Ethelthryth's cult as a sister cult to that of St Swithun. There can also be little doubt that as a monk in IÆthelwold's Old Minster and a mature student at his school, IElfric will have been apprised of the deliberations which led to the refoundation of Ely and to the unfolding process of 'Ethelthryth's cult subsequent to the refoundation.

Abbot Byrhtnoth and The Ely Four'

Ely's first abbot, Byrhtnoth (c. 970 - 996 x 999), had previously been prior of the Old Minster.¹⁵⁹ We have seen (above, p. 198) that the Libellus JEthel- woldi testifies to the close collaboration of Byrhtnoth and IÆthelwold with regard to the abbey's endowment and the protection of its privileges. It is obvious, therefore, that Byrhtnoth's other activities during the 970s also met with 'Ethelwold's approval. One of these activities concerned the rebuilding and refurbishing of

the Anglo-Saxon church at Ely. At the time of the refoundation the church housed the tombs of I Ethelthryth, Seaxburh, her sister and second abbess, and Eormenhild, her niece, Seaxburh's daughter and third abbess.¹⁶⁰ I Ethelwold inspected the church, apparently while the building process was still underway. He left the tomb of E Ethelthryth untouched and sealed the tombs of Seaxburh and Eormenhild with lead;¹⁶¹ no translation of the saints took place at that time. Another of Abbot Byrhtnoth's principal activities during the 970s concerned 'consolidating the collective identity of Ely's saints'.¹⁶² This process of consolidation involved the acquisition of the relics of yet another one of 'J Ethelthryth's sisters', Wihtburh. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the body of Wihtburh was found incorrupt in 798, fifty-five years after her death;¹⁶³ and according to her eleventh-century uita (by Goscelin), she had been a solitary at (East) Dereham in Norfolk, where she was buried.¹⁶⁴ Dereham was one of Ely's estates, and in 974 Abbot Byrhtnoth and his monks snatched Wihtburh's body from its burial place, much to the disgust of the people of Dereham, and re-buried it in a tomb within Ely Abbey.¹⁶⁵ 'The Ely Four' were now complete.

Wihtburh is not mentioned by Bede as one of King Anna's daughters, though he does mention Anna's daughters ,Ethelburh, i thelthryth, Seaxburh and a stepdaughter Sathryth.¹⁶⁶ Moreover, there are severe chronological difficulties in identifying the Dereham solitary (who, according to the calculation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, died in c. 743) as a sister of i thelthryth (who died in 679) and a daughter of King Anna (who died in 654). Inevitably, therefore, the question arises whether the family relationship between Wihtburh and the other three Ely saints can be traced back beyond Abbot Byrhtnoth's claims.¹⁶⁷ In any event, Byrhtnoth's next step in propagating the group identity of 'z Ethelthryth and her sisters' was to have impressive life-size images made of the four Ely saints (decorated with precious jewels, set in gold and silver), two of which he placed to the right and two to the left of the high altar.¹⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that the Lihir Eliensis makes no mention that i thelthryth's image was distinguished in any way from those of her sisters.

Even if we assume - as we probably should - that T-thelwold did not intervene in Abbot Byrhtnoth's strategies of promoting the joint cult of the Ely saints (he perhaps even approved of these strategies as a means of eliciting generous support and bequests for the church from the local landowners), it is obvious, nevertheless, that he did not endorse such strategies for his own purposes. For 'Ethelwold, Ely

probably always remained the church of I Ethelthryth as Bede had described it, in whatever egalitarian way Byrhtnoth may have presented 'The Ely Four'. In the Benedictional it is I Ethelthryth alone who occurs and none of the other Ely saints. Unfortunately, apart from the Benedictional, no liturgical books have survived from E Ethelwold's episcopate, but the evidence of later liturgical books suggests that none of I Ethelthryth's sisters could compete with her cult at any time.¹⁶⁹

There may have been a further reason why 'Ethelwold might not have been inclined to promote the cults of Seaxburh, Eormenhild and Wihtburh on a scale comparable to his promotion of 'Ethelthryth's cult, and this reason would have to do with his strong aversion towards the *saeculariuni prioratus*, as he calls it in the *Regularis concordia*,¹⁷⁰ that is, the influence of lay persons on the affairs of a monastery. By the succession of its first three abbesses, Ely had every appearance of a royal *Eigenkloster*, where the position of abbess was hereditary within the East Anglian royal family.¹⁷¹ It is interesting in this connection that 'Elfric wrote a Life only of I Ethelthryth and, elsewhere in his works, has merely a brief reference to (perhaps) Seaxburh.¹⁷² It is further interesting that the charter material incorporated in the *Liber Eliensis* almost invariably refers to Ely as the 'church of St 'Ethelthryth' or simply 'St 'Ethelthryth'.

We may next turn to the hagiography of the Ely saints in order to see which of these texts could have been available to 'Elfric in one form or another.

The hagiography of the Ely saints

Apart from Bede's account of ~Ethelthryth and its close translation in the Old English Bede, and apart from the brief narrative commemoration of J Ethelthryth in the Old English Martyrology and of her uita in 1 Elfric's *Lives of Saints*, all of the surviving hagiography of the Ely saints is of postConquest date.¹⁷³ The bulk of this hagiography was generated in the wake of the great translation of the saints to the new Norman church in 1106.¹⁷⁴ On stylistic evidence, some of the *Lives* and *lections* were composed about two decades earlier by the famous hagiographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, presumably during a sojourn at Ely at some point in the 1080s under the abbacy of Simeon (1082-93).¹⁷⁵ Some of the Ely hagiography may go back to preConquest Latin or vernacular sources, none of which have survived in their original form, and it is difficult to

reconstruct what they may have contained.

We may begin our brief survey with Wihtburh, Ely's most recent acquisition. After Abbot Byrhtnoth had gone to extremes in order to unite Wihtburh with her sisters in 974, it would seem reasonable to assume that he ordered a uita or at least a set of lections to be written for her feast day. But if so, such work has apparently left no traces in the surviving uita of Wihtburh. A Latin uita has been preserved in two recensions. As Rosalind Love has shown, the version preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 393 (not listed in BHL) is a typical product of Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, while the version in Cambridge, Trinity College O. 2. 1, fols. 236v-40v (BHL 8979) is a twelfth-century reworking of Goscelin's uita.¹⁷⁶ The *Miracula S. Wihtburge* (BHL 8980), which are preserved in a single manuscript (London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. viii), are, according to Love, a twelfth-century Ely product.¹⁷⁷

Lections for the feast days of Seaxburh and her daughter Eormenhild were also written by Goscelin.¹⁷⁸ While for Eormenhild no further hagiography has survived (apart from the brief treatment she receives in the *Liber Eliensis*), ¹⁷⁹ a Latin uita is extant for Seaxburh (BHL 7693). It is apparently an Ely product of the early twelfth century (perhaps even earlier) and is definitely not by Goscelin.¹⁸⁰ Interestingly, the author of the uita asserts that he has taken his material 'ex antiquis Anglorum scriptis';¹⁸¹ and the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* prefaces his brief narrative of Seaxburh with the remark 'in Anglico quidem legimus'.¹⁸² These remarks have been unanimously and convincingly explained as referring to vernacular hagiographical material on Seaxburh which is now lost.¹⁸³ We have no knowledge of the nature of such material, but some few scraps of information about Seaxburh in English and from pre-Conquest times have indeed been preserved in a brief text that is variously entitled *J halgan*, *The Royal Saints of Kent* and *The Kentish Royal Legend*. ¹¹⁴ The text presents sketchy information about saintly members of the Kentish royal family from the conversion of King T-thelberht (597) to the death of King Wihtred (725). The saints resting at Ely are included by virtue of Seaxburh having been married to King Eorcenberht of Kent. Brief mention is made of some important events in Seaxburh's biography: her marriage to Eorcenberht, her foundation of Minster-in-Sheppey, her move to Ely. In its present form the tract was probably compiled in the later tenth century, presumably at Winchester, but it may well have existed in an earlier version. In the two eleventh-century manuscripts in which it is preserved (London, BL, Stowe 944 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201) the *Kentish Royal Legend*

is followed by a tract, listing the resting places of a great number of English saints, which is entitled *Secgan or The Resting Places of Saints*.¹⁸⁵ The Kentish Royal Legend and *The Resting Places of Saints* attest to an interest at Winchester around the year 1000 in compiling a comprehensive vernacular inventory of English saints and in particular of saints' resting places. As such, the tracts provide a useful contemporary foil for IElfric's hagiographical undertaking. But should IElfric have had knowledge of *The Kentish Royal Legend*, this text - with its laconic remarks and without the stamp of an identifiable authority - could scarcely have induced him to write a *Life of St Seaxburh*.

The same must be said of two folios dating from the second half of the eleventh century and now bound up with the *Lambeth Psalter*.¹¹¹⁶ Fol. 211 gives a few details of Seaxburh's biography and mentions her daughter and sisters. This folio may once have formed part of a vernacular *Life of St Seaxburh*, but by their fragmentary character both *Lambeth* folios defy any secure identification.

The post-Conquest hagiography of St JEthelthryth is, predictably, the most voluminous of the Ely saints.¹⁸⁷ A twelfth-century prose uita is preserved in three recensions: the first (BHL 2634), as incorporated in the *Liber Eliensis*;¹⁸⁸ the second, in the twelfth-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 393 (not listed in BHL); and the third, in a fourteenth-century manuscript, Dublin, Trinity College B. 2. 7 (172) (BHL 2636d).^{18j} None of these recensions is by Goscelin: if he composed a uita of JEthelthryth, this has left no trace in the surviving hagiography of the saint. All these twelfth-century uitae are based on Bede's account. As Rosalind Love has pointed out, they distinguish themselves principally by adding stylistic embellishments and verbiage to Bede's narrative.¹⁹⁰ However, a number of details and episodes from 'Ethelthryth's life, deriving perhaps from local oral tradition, have also been added to Bede's account.¹⁹¹ In Corpus 393 the prose uita is followed by a metrical *Life* (BHL 2639), composed by Gregory, a monk of Ely, probably in the 1120s.¹⁹²

On two occasions, the recension of IEthelthryth's uita that is included in the *Liber Eliensis* refers to Latin and vernacular and, presumably, preConquest sources. Here, mention is made of a 'libellum de uita illius [scil. Aetheldrethe] conscriptum Anglice' and of material found 'in scriptis Anglicis uel Latinis'.⁹³ There is of course no way of knowing what the contents were of 'the booklet written in English', which was available at Ely in the twelfth century. It is conceivable that /Elfric's *Life* formed part of it, but this is conjecture.

There is, however, one text among the twelfth-century hagiography of JEthelthryth which almost certainly has a pre-Conquest, presumably late tenth-century source (albeit now lost). The compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* refers to this text as the *Liber miraculorum beate uirginis*, which (he says) was composed by one JElfhelm, a priest at St I Ethelthryth's church.¹⁹⁴ JElfhelm's *Liber miraculorum*, a small dossier of post-mortem miracles worked by St tEthelthryth, is preserved in two twelfth-century versions. The first of these (BHL 2634a) is included in the *Liber Eliensis*,¹⁹⁵ and is thought closer to JElfhelm's lost original.¹⁹⁶ The second version, the *Miracula S. Etheldrethe* occurs in *Corpus* 393 and *Trinity B. 2. 7*, where it follows the *uita* of JEthelthryth. It is a reworking of JElfhelm's book of miracles, with four more recent miracles added in *Corpus* 393, one of them assigned to the year 1116.¹⁹⁷

By the mid-tenth century (when the events recorded are said to have occurred), the priest JElfhelm and presumed author of the *Liber miraculorum* was a young man. He reports how, at some point during King Eadred's reign (946-55), the archpriest of the Ely community of secular canons decided to find out whether there was anything in St Ethelthryth's sarcophagus. An elderly priest of the community tried (in vain) to prevent the archpriest from desecrating I Ethelthryth's shrine by telling a series of miracles performed by her in the past: a paralysed woman, a dumb man, a blind girl and a man with a withered hand - all being miraculously cured; and a servant girl, first being punished by R-thelthryth for an illicit action and afterwards released by her intercessory powers. To these miracles told by the elderly priest and reported by the author of the *Liber miraculorum*, JElfhelm, the author himself adds the story of a Viking struck dead (in 870 presumably) while trying to desecrate St tEthelthryth's shrine. JElfhelm concludes his booklet by relating the predictable outcome of the archpriest's sacrilege (perpetrated in spite of the elderly priest's cautionary narrative): the archpriest and his family and all of his accomplices either met their death or fell seriously ill.¹⁹⁸

We may assume that JElfhelm, the young priest at Ely during Eadred's reign, stayed on after the refoundation, became a Benedictine monk, and that, at some point after c. 970, he composed his *Liber miraculorum* with the intention, not only to extol St tEthelthryth's miraculous powers, but also to expose the unworthiness of the secular clerics who had served her shrine in the mid-tenth century. In other words, the *Liber miraculorum* would have met with the whole-hearted approval of Bishop tEthelwold and his Winchester circle. It is a text, therefore, which plausibly might have been drawn on by iElfric. But if

s Ifric knew the *Liber miraculorum*, he chose to ignore it. Why? I shall return to this question in the following assessment of the way in which JElfric rewrote his principal source. 199

Before undertaking such an assessment, however, a brief note needs to be inserted concerning some contemporary criticism on JEthelthryth's representation in Anglo-Saxon literature.

,Ethelthryth and some of her critics

Of all of 'Elfric's saints, 'thelthryth has probably elicited most comments by modern critics of English literature and history. Modern criticism is mostly concerned with EEthelthryth as portrayed by Bede and zElfric; iEthelthryth in the *Liher Eliensis* and in twelfth-century hagiography has attracted much less attention.²⁰⁰

It is legitimate to read the past with the mindset of the century we live in - or rather, the decades of the century that we are intellectually active in. Such reading is not only legitimate, it is inevitable, to some extent at least. As a result of this situation, the opinion of modern critics may be divided on whether one should exclusively bring to bear on past centuries the notions and theories of one's own decades, or whether serious attempts should be made to recover the events of the past as they were recorded, and to form a picture, as little influenced by modern thinking as possible, of the unfolding process of such events and of the way in which they were perceived by their contemporaries. But whichever approach is applied, the opinion of modern critics should not be divided on the necessity of historical and philological accuracy and expertise when dealing with the events and texts of earlier centuries. Unfortunately, this is a point where contemporary criticism on R-thelthryth as a saint, a woman, a body etc. falls short of academic standard disconcertingly often. To give a few examples: Oswald, the Northumbrian king, and Oswald, the Benedictine reformer, are confused, as are the various saints named 'bbe; iEthelwold is referred to as archbishop of Winchester; a translation of St iEthelthryth, staged in 970, is invented and labelled either as her first or as her second translation; also in 970, the incorrupt(!) bodies of SS Seaxburh and Eormenhild are said to have been translated to Ely; the *Liber Eliensis* is said to be based on texts which were compiled between 1131 and 1174; an event explicitly dated by the *Liber Eliensis* to the reign of King Eadred is said to have occurred 'at one unspecified time, presumably in the tenth century'; the disappearance of double monasteries is dated to the twelfth century; /Ethelthryth becomes iEthelfrith and is thus transformed

from a woman into a man; the individual uitaes of the Lives of Saints are referred to as 'chapters'; virginity is elaborated on as an exclusively female status (thereby ignoring the importance of Aldhelm for Anglo-Saxon England); the South Gyrwe (situated close to the frontier of the East Angles) are said to be a Welsh people (what political motive could there have been for an East Anglian princess to be given in marriage to a Welsh prince?); and the Gyrwe are styled 'Gyrwas' (-as being a frequent Old English ending of the nominative and accusative plural, but, unfortunately, the plural of tribes or nations does not take this ending); a sexual meaning for Latin eripere is said to be predominant by the twelfth century, but not a single Latin dictionary is quoted to confirm this assertion (such a dictionary would indeed be difficult to find). It would be tedious to extend this small florilegium, and I have not identified its sources since my argument is not directed against individual scholars. Rather, for the sake of the respectability and the prestige of the disciplines involved, I am pleading for an adequate employment of the basic tools of historical and philological research when writing about the past, also when writing about the sexualized tension between the Ely monks and their female saint or about I Ethelthryth's body as a text. The alternative would be honestly to disclaim any aspiration to historical expertise and accuracy and to admit to an uncompromisingly modernist stance, which, as far as I can see, none of the critics in question is prepared to do.

JElfric and Bede

Bede's hymn

With the exception of the last fifteen lines,²⁰¹ IElfric has one single source for his uita of A thelthryth: Bede's chapter 19 [17] in the fourth book of his *Historia ecclesiastica*.²⁰² Bede, however, appended to his prose account an abecedarian epanaleptic hymn on EEthelthryth'²⁰³ in which he sings her praise as the virgin bride of Christ.²⁰⁴ He thus created an opus genainatunz en miniature but in the same fashion as his metrical *Life of Cuthbert* supplements the anonymous prose *Life*,²⁰⁵ where the factual details of the story are given in the prose account and the verse is intended for private meditation on the saint's life.²⁰⁶ It is certain, therefore, that Bede personally held I Ethelthryth in great veneration.

Interestingly, Alfric does not have as much as a single verbal reminiscence of Bede's hymn. This may seem striking for various

reasons (not least because JElfric had drawn so heavily on Bede's metrical Life of Cuthbert, see above, pp. 103 and 110), but perhaps not much weight should be attributed to YElfric's neglect, as we shall see presently. It goes without saying that Alfric had knowledge of Bede's hymn. At some point he may even have considered to draw on it for a source. This much is suggested by the inclusion of both of Bede's chapters (IV.19 and 20) in Paris, BNF, lat. 5362 (fols. 81r-84v), a manuscript for which there is reason to suspect that its texts were assembled by 'Elfric himself to provide source material for his hagiographical project. 2117 Furthermore, having imbibed the Winchester interest in opera *geminata*, and being equipped with the Winchester training for producing them, TELfric will not have failed to recognize that Bede had, in effect, produced a small opus *geminatum* on YIEthelthryth. We have seen (above, p. 170) that the comparisons and metaphors of Bede's hymn were drawn on by the artists of the Benedictinal for their portraiture of ./Ethelthryth. There is a further indication of the respect in which Bede's hymn was held in Winchester circles and of the influence it had on Winchester's literary activities. Abecedarian, epanaleptic distichs (the metrical form of Bede's hymn) are not frequent in Anglo-Latin literature, and this difficult metre may reasonably be presumed to have attracted the attention of the Winchester school, given Bishop IEthelwold's enthusiasm for teaching his students 'the rules of grammar and metric'.²⁰⁸ As a result of such instruction, five abecedarian, epanaleptic poems have survived, all presumably composed in Winchester and, presumably, by zEthelwold's student Wulfstan of Winchester, 'a poet of outstanding calibre'. The indebtedness of these poems to Bede's hymn on IEthelthryth is clear, not only from the rare metrical form they employ, but also from verbal links between some of the Winchester poems and Bede's hymn. The poems in question are a hymn each on JEthelwold and Birinus (the apostle of the West Saxons), two on Swithun (one of these in two redactions), and a poem on All Saints' Day.²⁰⁹ There is evidence that at least one of the hymns on St Swithun was used in the liturgy for the saint's feast days. ²¹⁰ The almost certain liturgical use of a hymn, composed in the same unusual metre and of the same unusual length as Bede's hymn on JEthelthryth, gives rise to the suspicion that JEthelthryth's hymn, too, may not have been restricted to private devotion (as Bede had probably intended it to be), but may also have been used in the liturgy for the saint's feast days, at least in Winchester and Ely, even though it contains no reference to either the day of 'Ethelthryth's deposition or to that of her translation.

In view of such Winchester interest in Bede's hymn, how are we to

explain IElfric's utter neglect of it when composing his own Life? Certainty is not attainable, but one suspects that his reasons were principally of a narratological nature. As we shall see presently, 'Elfric radically restructured Bede's prose account to suit his own purposes. As a result of the severe restraints which the exacting metrical form put on matters of content, the hymn consists almost entirely of a long series of comparisons and metaphors with only very few and vague allusions to biographical and other relevant facts, and certainly to none which are not represented more clearly in Bede's prose. Obviously, features of the hymn's exalted and vague poetic diction, such as the floral images or allusions to the heavenly spouse, could be integrated with good effect into the iconography of the Benedictional, but would have been more difficult to incorporate into the sober prose Life that JElfric proposed to write.

The narrative structure

We may next turn to the above-mentioned restructuring of Bede's prose account in IElfric's Life. In our exploration of the previous saints' Lives, we have seen that)Elfric's principal narrative strategies consisted in restructuring and condensing his source or sources in order to produce a linear and chronological narrative, suitable for preaching or reading in one session, or two at most. Condensing was not an issue here: 'Elfric's Life of St /Ethelthryth is one of the shortest pieces in the Lives of Saints (and in the Catholic Homilies),221' and it reproduces faithfully and without substantial omissions Bede's prose account.212 It is in restructuring his source that, once again, Elfric's acute interest in narrative technique and his narrative skill can be observed.

From an examination of Bede's treatment of the story of Pope Gregory and, to some extent, of that of St Cuthbert,213 we have learned that Bede's narrative can be non-linear and non-chronological. Among the principal reasons for this narrative mode are Bede's penchant for including reports from eyewitnesses to an event and for relegating subsidiary information derived (perhaps) from oral tradition to the end of a narrative (as in the case of the slave-boy episode in his account of Gregory). In the case of JElhelthryth, Bede's narrative leaps back and forth with astonishing frequency, especially in the second part of the story. Bede's narrative technique in this chapter may conveniently be described in the precise (albeit not uniform) terminology of structuralist narratology.214 Except for one brief anticipation (p. 392.7-9) '215 Bede's narrative proceeds in the temporal order of the events related, up to the point where

'Ethelthryth's tomb was opened and her body found incorrupt. Until this point the narrative is non-focalized, that is, the events are described by an omniscient narrator. The narrative becomes focalized, however, in the first analepsis (or 'flashback') which is inserted at this point (p. 394.17): the first-person report of the physician Cynefrith, who had treated 'Ethelthryth during her terminal illness and who was an eyewitness to her translation. This first analepsis is divided into two parts: , 'Ethelthryth's terminal illness and death (p. 394.17-23), and the opening of her tomb, where she was found incorrupt (p. 394.24-36). The second part of Cynefrith's recollections thus brings us back to where the linear, non-focalized narrative had broken off, and it reveals further details of the translation process up to the point when the tomb was opened (such as the erection of a tent over the tomb or the discovery that the wound on JEthelthryth's neck had healed). A second analepsis, again focalized, follows immediately upon the first one: on the testimony, again, of eyewitnesses (this time unidentified), we hear 'Ethelthryth welcoming her terminal illness as a fitting atonement for her youthful vanities (pp. 394.36-396.8). This analepsis is followed in turn by a brief passage containing a nonfocalized prolepsis (or anticipation): the narrator refers to future miracles which occurred by touching the wooden coffin or the clothes in which JEthelthryth had first been buried (p. 396.8-13). Subsequent to this prolepsis, the non-focalized account returns to the point up to which the temporal order of events and the narrative discourse had been in congruence: the further progress and the end of I Ethelthryth's translation are related by the author (p. 396.13-19). The account concludes with a brief passage which, though not linked by cohesion to the foregoing narrative, is, nevertheless, coherent with it:216 we are informed about the topography of Ely and I Ethelthryth's reasons for choosing Ely as the site for her monastery (p. 396.20-6).

Even from this sketchy analysis of Bede's narrative discourse it will have become clear that transforming this discourse into a linear, chronological and authorial217 narrative, while preserving almost all of its details, involved the task of restructuring on a major scale. No doubt Bede's narrative has a more sophisticated structure, though this is clearly not what Bede aimed at. Rather, Bede had in mind an expert reader, fluent in Latin, whom he wanted to provide with as much first-hand information as possible, given by eyewitnesses and inserted at various points, as he thought suitable. I Elfric, on the other hand, aimed at and achieved a simple-structured saint's Life, suitable for being read by (or being read out to) an audience with little literary expertise. While it is true that J Elfric drastically simplified Bede's

narrative mode, it is also true that, in doing so, he reveals once again his skill in handling narrative structures. There is little doubt that 'Elfric could have produced an analysis of Bede's narrative discourse and the way he set about changing it, as adequate as the one which is provided by modern discourse analysis. In our days such skill is normally acquired by way of reading [literature at university level](#). We may wonder, therefore, once again, how much of this skill 'Elfric was taught at 'Ethelwold's school'.²¹ 8

The conclusion of ~Elfric's 'Life of I Ethelthryth'

The final fifteen lines of 'Elfric's Life are not derived from Bede. Lines 120-30 epitomize a passage from Rufinus's *Historia monachorum*, ch. 16, concerning a man who, having procreated three sons, had lived in chastity with his wife for thirty years, had eventually entered a monastery, and whose soul, after his death, angels transferred to heaven.²¹⁹ The episode is markedly framed by the phrase 'swa swa us bec secgað/swa swa us segað bec' (p. 440.120 and 130). It is followed by a brief addition (without a source, p. 440.131-4) that many more examples could be found on *bocunz* (p. 440.131) of men and women who led chaste lives (in marriage, presumably) in honour of Jesus Christ, himself a virgin. The Life ends with a one-line doxology (p. 440.135).

The function in 'Elfric's Life of the drastically abbreviated episode from the *Historia monachorum* has been commented on several times, most searchingly in an article by Peter Jackson.²²⁰ The episode, brief and to the point, and set apart from the main discourse by verbal framing, has every appearance of being a carefully premeditated appendix to 'Ethelthryth's Life in order to convey a message that is not, or not entirely, conveyed by the vita itself. But what is this message? It has been argued that 'Elfric felt to some extent uneasy with 'Ethelthryth as a paradigm of sanctity within marriage', that he was 'unhappy about the story of this strong-willed, sexually autonomous woman' and her 'disturbingly unilateral act of renunciation',²²¹ and that he, therefore, appended the episode 'to act as a correction or counterweight', and as 'a quiet reassertion of the Augustinian ideal of a Christian marriage'.²²²

Though for Augustine (as for other patristic authors) the questions of the relative merits of marriage versus virginity was, to some extent, a moot point, it may be gleaned from his writings that he considered marriage appropriate for the laity, that no abstention from sexual

intercourse should take place while children may be procreated, but that, after that period, the couple should be continent. Separation for the purpose of one of the partners entering a monastery is permitted, but only by the mutual consent of the partners.²²³

Some of JElfric's alterations

Obviously, the concluding episode in JElfric's Life endorses the Augustinian view. But does the episode, if only by implication, query, or even reject, the model of sanctity propounded by the Life itself? Simple considerations of relative length would seem to speak against such a hypothesis: the ten lines of the episode stand against 120 lines of the main narrative, carefully restructured with an eye to gaining a strong hold on the audience. A glance at a few details in Bede and at the way JElfric handled them may be helpful in clarifying the picture.

Doubts about 'Ethelthryth's preservation of virginity had already been raised by her near-contemporaries. ²²⁴ Bede admitted to having heard such doubts and sought to redress them by referring first, to the testimony of Bishop Wilfrid, 'thelthryth's spiritual adviser and his, Bede's, informant; secondly, to the astonishing course of i thelthryth's biography as revealing God's continuing presence among His faithful; and thirdly, to the miracle of IEthelthryth's incorrupt body as certain proof of her virginity (pp. 390-3). By contrast, IElfric does not permit the shadow of a doubt to fall on IEthelthryth's virginity, and, when referring to her two marriages, he adds to Bede's text that IEthelthryth remaining a virgin is entirely due to God's intervention; no active part in the matter is assigned to JEthelthryth herself. Cf. with regard to her first marriage:

ac hit nolde se xلميhtiga God paet hire megohad wurde mid hxmede
adylegod ac heold hi on cl&nnyse foroan be he is xلميhtig God and
maeg don Ball pet he wile and on manegum wisum his mihte
geswutela^{8.225}

And with regard to her second marriage:

Heo lufode bone Hadend be hi heold unwemme.²²⁶

Speaking of IEthelthryth's marriages, IElfric adds further that the miracles she performs (using the present tense) testify to her virginity.²²⁷ /Elfric keeps Bede's remark on R-thelthryth's biography revealing God's manifest presence in a more recent age, referring expressly to Bede as his source.²²⁸ He also keeps Bede's mention of

IEthelthryth's undecayed body as testimony to her virginity, but, characteristically, transfers it to the end of his Life, where it belongs chronologically.²²⁹ A further small alteration made by IElfric is relevant in this context. According to Bede, 2Ethelthryth gained her second husband's, King Ecgfrith's, permission to enter a monastery only 'at length and with difficulty'.²³⁰ 'Elfric retains the remark on Ecgfrith's permission being granted after a long time, but is silent on it being given grudgingly:

pa lyfde hire se cynincg beak be hit embe lang ware ba:s be heo gewilnode.²³¹

Obviously, the sum of these small additions, alterations and shifts of emphasis serves to enhance 'Ethelthryth's standing as one of God's chosen saints. But by these alterations 'Elfric also stresses that the type of saintly life led by iEthelthryth could only be achieved through God's intervention. The episode taken from the *Historia monachorum* could serve, therefore, as a model which would be more amenable to the ordinary married couple aspiring to a life pleasing to God. It is interesting that in his own comment on the episode IElfric refers to many examples found in books

hu oft weras and wif wundorlice drohtnodon and on clennysse wunodon to wuldre bam Htlende be ba clnnysse astealde.²³²

This remark takes us beyond the couple in the episode - continent only after the procreation of children - and back again to JEthelthryth's chaste marriage.

Strikingly, Alcuin took IEthelthryth's and Ecgfrith's marriage to have been of the type alluded to by 'Elfric's final comment, namely unconsummated by mutual consent:

Vincitur hic precibus, sed amore Tonantis et illa;
ambo sacris Fidei feruentes ignibus intus,
permansere simul coniunx cum coniuge casti.²³³

Bede and Aldhelm

We do not know whether IElfric had read Alcuin's poem (on the evidence of its manuscript transmission it would perhaps seem unlikely),²³⁴ but two authors, whom we know 'Elfric had studied intensely ever since his early schooldays, had preoccupied themselves with the question of virginity, marriage and chaste marriage: Bede

and Aldhelm. In addition to the case of I Ethelthryth, Bede mentions approvingly a number of further couples whose marriages were dissolved because one of the partners wished to join the religious life.²³⁵ One of the cases in question, that of the Northumbrian [thegn Dryhthelm](#), who left his loving wife after a vision of the afterlife and entered the monastery at Melrose, was translated by [s lfric](#) for his [Catholic Homilies](#).²³⁶ AElfric did not criticize Dryhthelm's decision to renounce his marriage any more than did Bede. Bede is silent on whether this and the other divorces he mentions were effected by the mutual consent of the partners.

The praise of virginity - often represented as an aggressive virtue - is the subject of Aldhelm's prose [De uirginitate](#) (as of its companion piece, the [Carmen de uirginitate](#)). Aldhelm dedicated the work to the nuns of Barking, a group of noble ladies, some of whom, such as Cuthburh,²³⁷ presumably had renounced their marriages in order to become nuns. Bishop Aldhelm addressed these ladies with especial deference, and in his prefatory discussion on the merits of virginity he changed the three states of female chastity traditionally referred to by patristic authors, namely virginity, widowhood and marriage, to virginity, chastity and marriage; chastity referring to the state when a woman has rejected a marriage and entered a monastery. By substituting chastity for widowhood, Aldhelm apparently sought to accommodate the interests of his dedicatees, some of whom do not seem to have postponed their option for the monastic life until they had reached the state of widowhood.²³⁸ A further feature introduced by Aldhelm, which had 'no antecedent in earlier patristic treatises on virginity', is his inclusion of a substantial number of male virgins.²³⁹

In an earlier chapter we have seen that there are reasons to suspect that JElfric was influenced in his predilection for the [uitae](#) of chaste couples such as [Chrisanthus](#) and [Darla](#) or [Julian](#) and [Basilissa](#) by Aldhelm's prose [De uirginitate](#).²⁴⁰ It is tempting, therefore, to think that IElfric had in mind Winchester's favourite curriculum author when he appended an episode, centering on a form of chaste marriage and focusing on the male partner, to a [uita](#) in praise of a female saint who had preserved her virginity in two marriages. But such a surmise is of course incapable of proof.

Canon law

A further shaping influence on YElfric's views on virginity, chastity and marriage may have been canon law. Aldhelm's introduction to his

prose De uirginitate and Bede's account of various marriages where one of the partners had opted out, allow us to glimpse a situation in late-seventh- and earlyeighth-century England which had called forth ecclesiastical legislation by Archbishop Theodore. In his Iudicia, Theodore permitted divorce if one of the partners wished to enter a monastery. He did so on the authority of the Greek Church Father Basil, since permission for such procedure could not be found in the works of Latin patristic authors. Theodore is not entirely clear on the point, but apparently he permitted separation only on the mutual consent of both partners.²⁴¹

We may assume that the curriculum in I Ethelwold's school included instruction in canon law.²⁴² We have no certain proof that Theodore's Iudicia were studied there, but from a text which somehow is associated with ðElfric, and which draws on a collection of canons that is, in turn, heavily indebted to the Iudicia,²⁴³ we may infer that the Iudicia in one form or another were indeed part of 'Elfric's schooling. In any event, from IElfric's works, and especially from his pastoral letters, it is clear that he had an intimate knowledge of canon law and was probably regarded as an authority on the subject. It is possible that Archbishop Wulfstan's canon law collection (which until recently went by the name of Excerptiones pseudo-Ecgherhti) drew for a number of its canons on iElfric's works, and not vice versa (as had long been assumed), and that, perhaps, iElfric himself had been one of its authors.²⁴⁴ The important point for us is that Wulfstan's canons permit divorce of a marriage by mutual consent, if one of the partners wishes to enter monastic life.²⁴⁵

Apart from his 'Life of I Ethelthryth', IElfric refers to divorce elsewhere in his work. In his 'Passion of St Thomas', he invokes unspecified canons when he declares the mutual consent of the partners a prerequisite for separation:

ac canones swabeah cweoab and beoda8 bet nan wif ne sceole hire wer forhetan swilce for eawfistnysse buton him bam swa gelicige.²⁴⁶

In a further passage, in the second series of the Catholic Homilies, such mutual consent is not mentioned and chastity throughout a marriage is expressly permitted:

Twoeming is alyfed barn 8e lufia8 swioor oa healican clinnyse bonne oa hohfullan galnysse. Eac hi magon on sinscipe hi sylfe bedyglian and hemed forgan gif him swa God gewissao.²⁴⁷

Conclusions

Drawing together these various strands of evidence, we need not doubt that IElfric, no less than Bede, sought to extol I Ethelthryth as one of the pre-eminent saints of England. It is clear, nonetheless, that, in spite of their real or literary experience with chaste marriages or separation for reasons of chastity, both Bede and zElfric felt the need to explain and authenticate I Ethelthryth's unusual preservation of virginity during the apparently brief span of her first marriage and during a period as long as twelve years in her marriage with Ecgrith. Bede addressed the task by adducing the testimony of Bishop Wilfrid whom he had consulted on the matter, and by pointing to God's continuing presence in His creation, while JElfric intensified God's intervention in preserving J Ethelthryth's virginity and sought to bring her eventual divorce into more seamless agreement with canon law by omitting to mention Ecgrith's perduring reluctance to consent to the separation. Bede appends a hymn in praise of the saintly virgin, extolling her sanctity in a flight of artful imagery without any further reference to the difficulties she encountered during her earthly existence. IElfric, in the final episode and his concluding remarks, points out to his lay audience alternative ways of leading saintly lives within marriage, ways that are more easily accessible and less in need of divine intervention. Both Bede and 'Elfic interpret 'I ethelthryth's incorrupt body as divine proof of her virginity and, by implication, as proof that God has received her among His saints. Characteristically, i lfric-again with his lay audience in mind -adds a practical morale by alluding to the Last judgement: [and Godes miht is geswutelod soOlice burh hi pmt he meg areran Oa formolsnodon lichaman se cue hire lic heold hal on Ogre byrgene git od Aisne deg.248](#)

Interestingly, IElfric has a similar sequence of thought in his 'Passion of St Edmund, King and Martyr': Edmund died a virgin, as is testified by his incorrupt body:

[His lichama us cyo be lib unformolsnod bat he butan forligre her on worulde leofode and mid cltnum life to Criste sibode.249](#)

This miracle, again, is interpreted as testifying to God's power to raise the dead from their graves on the day of the Last Judgement:

[On pyssum halgan is swutel and on swilcum obrum pet God almihtig mag bone man arxran eft on domes deg andsundne of eorban se be hylt Eadmunde halne his lichaman o8 bone micclan deg beak be he of moldan come.250](#)

Here again, IElfric adds to his source, Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Edmundi*,²⁵¹ but one wonders whether a casual remark by Abbo, linking Edmund's virginal incorruptibility to the Last Judgement²⁵² may not have prompted JElfric to elaborate on this chain of thoughts in his 'Passion of St Edmund' and in his 'Life of St JEthelthryth'.

A saints Life for Ely?

There is a further function which UElfric may have intended for the episode from the *Historic monachorum*. Two of Ely's female saints had been married women and mothers: 'Ethelthryth's sister Seaxburh and her niece Eormenhild. Did IElfric append the episode of the married couple, living in chastity after the procreation of children, in order to pay homage to these two saints? If so, it would be an oblique homage, and would certainly not have met with the approval of Abbot Byrhtnoth, assiduously seeking to establish the group identity of 'The Ely Four'.²⁵³ fElfric does refer with praise, but again without giving a name, to one of fEthelthryth's sisters at the end of his 'Passion of St Edmund':

Nis Angelcynn bedaled Drihtnes halgena bonne on Engla lande licgap swilce halgan swylce as halga cyning is and Cubberht se eadiga and sancte 2'Ebeldry8 on Elig and eac hire swustor ansunde on lichaman geleafan to trymminge. 254

Seaxburh is, perhaps, the most likely candidate for this allusion: apart from JEthelthryth, of 'The Ely Four' only Seaxburh is mentioned by Bede on several occasions, most prominently as the abbess in charge of i thelthryth's translation in 695.²⁵⁵ But we cannot be sure.²⁵⁶ Apparently, JElfric approved of the cult of Ely's saints, but was no more prepared than Bishop IEthelwold to allow any of these saints to compete with .Ethelthryth.²⁵⁷

If an Ely connection for the episode from the *Historia monachorum* must remain uncertain, there are, nevertheless, some few hints in the uita which may point to lElfric having a specifically Ely audience in mind. Thus, IElfric is not interested in reporting the names of people and places that are relevant to T-thelthryth's biography, but do not belong to her East Anglian ambit. Her first husband, Tondberht, has no name and home and is, not quite accurately, simply styled 'ealdorman'. Her second husband, Ecgfrith, has a name and is correctly styled 'king', but it is not said of which people. Wilfrid is simply a 'biscop' without further specification. Coldingham, where

'Ethelthryth took the veil, becomes an anonymous 'mynster', and its abbess, 'Ebbe, Ecgrith's aunt, is not mentioned. We do hear, however, that 'Ethelthryth's father, Anna, had been a very pious king of the East Angles, and (an addition to Bede) that his family was honoured by God; that 'thelthryth was consecrated abbess of 'Elig mynstre'; that her sister and successor as abbess was named Seaxburh and that she had previously been queen 'on Cantwarebyrig'.²⁵⁸ We are given the name of the place where the marble coffin for I Ethelthryth's translation was found: 'Grantaceaster' (Cambridge), without the topographical explanations which Bede thought necessary. We are also given the name of Ethelthryth's doctor, Cynefrith (whom only fElfric says to have been a member of her monastery: p. 436.61-2), even though Cynefrith's report has been depersonalized and integrated into the authorial narrative.²⁵⁹ Most interestingly, of the two passages where Bede provided brief topographical descriptions of the district in which Ely is situated (HE, pp. 394 and 396), the second of these passages is entirely omitted by IElfric, and the first one is reduced to a laconic 'on pam fenlande'.²⁶⁰ Can we assume that the dedicatees of the Lives of Saints, Ealdorman zEthelweard and his son 'Ethelmxr, with their territorial base in the Southwest, were familiar with the Fens (a region difficult of access in Anglo-Saxon times), or that they were specifically interested in 'Ethelthryth's East Anglian background, any more than in the details of her life in Northumbria? It may seem more reasonable to explain these parochial features on the hypothesis that by them 'Elfric was catering for the interests of the monks and neighbours of St I Ethelthryth. With a view exclusively to the southwestern recipients of the Lives of Saints, or even to the political elite in general, he might have excised the East Anglian details from zEthelthryth's uita as thoroughly as the Northumbrian ones.

On the hypothesis that fElfric also had in mind specifically Ely interests, why then, did he refrain from drawing on IElfhelm's *Liter ntiraculoruna*, a work he plausibly might have known?²⁶¹ It is not difficult to surmise what IElfric's reasons were (if, indeed, he knew the *Liber miraculorum*). The miracles reported by IElfhelm are of precisely the same nature as the ones which fill the 'Life of St Swithun': blind, paralysed and crippled persons getting healed; even the miracle concerning the girl who is first punished and then released by St I Ethelthryth parallels Swithun's intercession on behalf of guilty persons.²⁶² We have seen that IElfric had no great predilection for this type of posthumous miracles. In the case of St Swithun he had no choice (and he duly blamed Swithun's contemporaries for having neglected to record the facts of Swithun's biography). But with

IEthelthryth matters were different. Here he could draw on the account of a renowned and highly respected author, who had recorded IEthelthryth's biography and her translation from a near-contemporary perspective, and consequently there was no need to include subsidiary material from more dubious sources. That IElfric did indeed know of miracles, which had occurred subsequent to Bede's account, is clear from two cursory remarks on IEthelthryth's continuing and frequent miracles: 'swa swa ja wundra geswutelio j e heo wyrce gelome';^{2C3} and: 'swa swa swutele wundra hyre mrr8a cyOap and hire mxgOhad gelome'.²⁶ Both remarks 'Elfric adds to Bede, who had recorded only some few miracles which had occurred in connection with IEthelthryth's translation. 265

Arguably, therefore, 'Elfric's rigorist attitude with regard to sources deprives us of our only opportunity of throwing light on the hagiography of 'Ethelthryth between Bede and the twelfth century. Nevertheless, we should appreciate his purism as a further token of the critical circumspection with which he approached his sources.

CONCLUSION

Like Swithun, IEthelthryth was a 'recent' saint, a saint whose cult, like his, was inextricably woven into the fabric of the ideology of IEthelwold and his circle. A-thelthryth as a saint 'of our age' had already been celebrated by Bede:

Nostra quoque egregia jam tempora uirgo beaut;

*Aedilthryda nitet nostra quoque egregia.*²⁶⁶

*Bede, and perhaps Alcuin, apart,*²⁶⁷ it is difficult to say to what extent her cult had spread in the North in the eighth century. By the same token, there is no way of assessing Ethelthryth's developing cult in the Isle of Ely and the surrounding countryside subsequent to her translation in 695. So, if kthelthryth was not revealed as a saint in the 970s in the same way that Swithun had been 'geswutelod', the intense promotion of the cults of both saints from that time onwards was closely parallel. IElfric had been an eyewitness to the spread of both cults, and by the mid-990s or so, when he set about providing vernacular prose *uitae* of Swithun and IEthelthryth, he was an experienced and first-rate author and hagiographer. From the way he rewrote his sources for both Lives with regard to their contents and narrative structure, it is clear that he addressed his task with especial care and great competence. Both saints were not 'easy' saints for a

hagiographer as conscientious as JElfric. Swithun, a saint of whose life virtually nothing was known, and of whom a profusion of miracles (some of a decidedly dubious nature) were reported from the 970s onwards; i thelthryth, a saint who did have a biography, the most important details of which, however, were apt to provoke incredulity, a saint, moreover, of whom almost no miracles (or, indeed, works of charity) were recorded in what IElfric would have considered reliable sources. In these difficult circumstances, ./Elfric will no doubt have appreciated that he could draw on respectable sources for both uitaes. He restructured these sources, as we have seen, but he did not alter the essential message they convey concerning the indubitable sanctity and intercessory powers of these two icons of the Winchester type of reform. We should refrain, therefore, from reading an implicit criticism of the two saints into IElfric's treatment of Swithun's miracles and IElthelthryth's virginity. IElfric had certainly recognized the problematic profusion of Swithun's miracles and the dubious nature of some of them; and he had perhaps recognized the difficulty of establishing the virgin queen IElthelthryth as a model of sanctity for lay persons to emulate. He therefore strove, by careful and considerate retouching, to redress the balance (as he perceived it to be), but at the same time he must have been well aware of what was expected from a Winchester alumnus, and he will have been eager to meet these expectations and not to let fall a shadow of ambiguity on the two Winchester icons.

There can be no doubt about the importance which 'Elfric attached to St Swithun: in an age where church, state and society were disintegrating, Swithun, together with the holy bishops Dunstan and IElthelwold, reaffirmed the values of the tenth-century reform and the prospect of peace and prosperity which an implementation of these values would entail.²⁶⁸ There is equally no doubt about IElthelthryth's importance for the English. At the end of the 'Passion of St Edmund', she is singled out, together with a small group of English saints (King Edmund, Bishop Cuthbert and her own, unidentified sister):²⁶⁹ virgin saints, whose virginity was sanctified by the miracle of their undecayed bodies,²⁷⁰ and whom God had thereby chosen 'geleafan to trymminge', 'for the strengthening of the faith' in the English people. As an author who had grown up with the prose *De uirginitate*, iElfric could surely be trusted to lavish the highest praise on virginity - in men and women alike.

Epilogue

In the foregoing exploration of the five saints' Lives I have employed a strictly historical approach. By examining historical evidence of various kinds I have sought to glean as much information as possible about the standing of the five saints and the popularity of their cults by the end of the tenth century, when Ælfric set about composing their *uitae*. The evidence provided by Latin hagiography and surviving liturgical books and calendars combines with our ever-increasing understanding of the political events that were witnessed by Ælfric, and of the intellectual and spiritual world in which he grew up. If we add to this Ælfric's own remarks, concerning contemporary events, his perception of the past, his own intellectual training and the cult of saints, a reasonably clear picture may be obtained of the overall historical situation in which the five Lives originated.

SOME RESULTS

My rationale for selecting the five Lives has been the prominence of these five saints in 'thelwold's *Benedictional* and the two groups formed there (for reasons that can be reconstructed) by Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict, and by Swithun and R-thelthryth respectively.¹ No claim is made here that the insights obtained from an assessment of the five Lives can be brought to bear on Ælfric's hagiographic writings in general. What has resulted, perhaps most importantly, from an assessment of the Lives, is that Ælfric's approach to his source(s) for an individual saint's Life varied according to the sources in question and according to the specific aspects he intended to stress in the individual *uitae*. Ælfric was well aware that hagiography is pragmatic writing. For the fully fledged cult of a saint in the localities a *uita* had to be provided; and no overly individualistic treatment of saints was appropriate in their *uitae*, since this would have endangered their standing in the community of saints and the recognition of their intercessory powers as being equal to those of the most venerated members of this community.² But within the limits set by the pragmatic and largely stereotyped nature of saints' Lives, Ælfric did not bring a utilitarian and uniform approach to his task when composing the five Lives. Thus we find:

Gregory, the apostle of the English, whose preaching is represented as addressing also the needs of Ælfric's contemporaries, while Gregory, the Roman pope, the scholar, the man torn by the conflict between

his inclinations and his sense of duty (all found in the sources) is scarcely visible;

Benedict, the founding father, not only of western monasticism, but also of the English church, and hence a focus of veneration for all the English. His many visions and miracles are personalized by a deliberate omission of Pope Gregory's and his friend Peter's dialogues on the role which these visions and miracles play within the Christian perception of sainthood and God's plan of salvation; and it is in contradiction to the *Dialogi* that the range and depth of Benedict's learning is stressed;

Cuthbert, the solitary saint and demon fighter, whose roles as bishop and preacher are suppressed, as is his historical and local background, so that no such details may distract attention from pious meditation on his saintly life;

and finally Swithun and I Ethelthryth, saints whose cults had only developed during I Elfric's youth, and who, notwithstanding the very different nature of the source material available for them, are presented so as to convey an almost identical message, namely that God is still with the English people.

This variety of approaches and of aspects which are highlighted in the five Lives may well prove to be an important principle throughout JElfric's hagiographic writings.³ A further principle, also of more general applicability, may have emerged from our consideration of the five Lives. We have had occasion to observe that, within the two groups of Lives, one uita may reflect on another, as in the case of Swithun and I Ethelthryth just mentioned, or in the case of Cuthbert and Benedict, where Cuthbert's role as monkbishop and preacher may have been deliberately played down, so as to let all the renown in this respect go to St Benedict.` It remains to be seen whether similar interrelations can also be detected between other Lives, perhaps even between Lives that are not assigned to contiguous calendar dates.

With regard to the way in which 'Elfric's schooling informed his composition of the five Lives, and may help us in understanding them, we have seen that .Elfric's expertise in canon law and the decrees of church councils is relevant in explaining his representation of SS Gregory and i Ethelthryth, and that the prominence of Aldhelm in the Winchester curriculum is important for understanding the uita of T Ethelthryth. We have further seen that Bede, who (given the importance attached by Bishop I Ethelwold to the traditions of the

early English church) will have held a place next to Aldhelm in the Winchester curriculum, is essential for three of the five Lives: Gregory, Cuthbert and R-thelthryth; and it is possible that Bede's veneration for St Benedict⁵ may be reflected in /Elfric's representation of Benedict as a saint for the universal English church. 'Elfric's training is also reflected in his narrative modes, most importantly in his taking Bede's metrical Life of St Cuthbert as the structural model for his own Life. This, strikingly, echoes the Winchester interest in verse hagiography and in supplementing prose Lives with a verse contrafactum. Even more strikingly, by taking Bede's metrical Life as his model, 'Elfric renders into vernacular prose the more demanding of the two types of verse contrafacta: the type that transforms its source-text into a meditational text. All surviving Winchester verse contrafacta represent the type which reproduces its source-text almost literally in Latin verse. ⁶ A training in this more straightforward practice may have encouraged 'Elfric to venture on a narratological experiment in the vernacular and not let himself be deterred by an exacting source. A further aspect where iElfric's schooling may have influenced his narrative mode may be found in his penchant for, and skill in, restructuring his sources, principally with the aim of producing a chronological and linear narrative. We have no certain knowledge whether instruction in the various ways of composing a narrative was part of 'Elfric's training, but we may suspect that it was - in a classroom where different possibilities of rendering Latin words into Old English were discussed.

The importance of source studies for a historical approach as applied here scarcely needs to be stressed.' Without a firm notion of the sources drawn on for a uita, any pronouncement on the work, from the narrative mode employed by 'Elfric to his portrayal of the saint in question, would be unfounded speculation. We are fortunate in that all five Lives have been thoroughly and reliably sourced. However, in order to form a full picture of zElfric's approach to his sources, one also needs to consider those sources which were, certainly or arguably, at his disposal, but which he chose to ignore. In this respect the five Lives convincingly illustrate the circumspection and scholarly rigour with which IElfric selected his sources. ⁹ Thus, for his Life of St Gregory, zElfric turned to Bede and the uita by Paul the Deacon as transmitted in the Cotton-Corpus legendary. The authority of Bede as a source-author needs no demonstration; and IElfric will have considered the Cotton-Corpus legendary to be almost equal in standing and prestige to (say) the homiliary of Paul the Deacon: it was a compilation whose authority may have been established already in

Bishop iEthelwold's circle during IElfric's schooldays (see above, p. 45). IElfric, however, did not draw on the Whitby Life of Gregory, a text which he may have known, but an anonymous text, written in a crude style and teeming with miracles, often of a dubious nature. For similar reasons 'Elfric seems to have rejected the tenthcentury version of 'Elfhelm's Liber miraculorum beate uirginis [Etheldredae) as a source for his uita of St iEthelthryth. With so much valuable work on ./Elfric's sources now being available, a comprehensive critical sifting of the sources which he apparently rejected would be worthwhile.

However critical ./Elfric may have been in selecting his sources, however drastically he may have altered their narrative mode to suit his own purposes (even if the author in question was a Bede or a Gregory), in whatever subtle and adroit fashion he may have changed the perspective on a saint offered by his source, there is no doubt about two points: no 'ideal of sanctity' valid for IElfric and, by implication, for his contemporaries can be abstracted from the five Lives;¹⁰ and no critical stance, however cautiously formulated, on the genre of hagiography can be detected in them. By its very nature hagiography includes the recording of numerous miracles of the saint in question, and it is here that a critical attitude on i lfric's part has been suspected.¹¹ Judging from the five Lives, it would appear that i lfric was content with referring only summarily to miracles performed by a saint, when (as in the case of Gregory and 'Elthelthryth) no explicit miracles occurred in his source, but when we may suspect that he did have knowledge of such miracles. On the other hand, in the case of Cuthbert, Benedict and Swithun, i lfric apparently saw no difficulty in recording an abundance of miracles performed by these saints; an abundance which, in the case of Cuthbert and Benedict, resulted in uitae of excessive length. Interestingly, his approach to the miracles performed by the three saints varies: Lantfred's exuberance with regard to Swithun's miracles is carefully pared down and bowdlerized so as not to lead astray the simple-minded among the audience; Cuthbert's miracles are pressed into service for evoking meditation on the essence of his saintly life; and Benedict's miracles principally serve to enhance the picture drawn of a visionary whom God had assigned an outstanding role in His church. From all three Lives it emerges, however, that ./Elfric preferred to record miracles performed by living saints, and, if possible, kept discussion of posthumous miracles to a minimum. Once again, it may be worthwhile to test such results, obtained from an examination of the five Lives, within the wider perspective of 'Elfric's hagiography.

Mention of another field which would merit further exploration takes us back to the first chapter. What were the influences that shaped IElfric's sanctorale? In selecting the saints' Lives for this book I have been guided by the influence of ,Ethelwold's Benedictional, but we have briefly reviewed other factors that may have contributed to the formation of 'Elfric's sanctorale: his overall penchant for orthodoxy, the aim to provide political and ethical instruction in a time of national disaster, commissions from lay patrons and ecclesiastical communities, some of the episodes in Aldhelm's prose De uirginitate, and the Cotton-Corpus legendary. All these aspects would repay further attention, in particular perhaps the relationship between the Cotton-Corpus legendary and IElfric's sanctorale, in view of the possibility that IElfric had been familiar with a form of this legendary since his schooldays, and that he himself arguably aimed at providing a legendary in the vernacular. Many of the apparent idiosyncrasies of 2Elfric's sanctorale could probably be explained by an examination of these various aspects. What would, however, not be explained by such an examination is the considerable number of feasts and saints that occur twice (or even three times) in his sanctorale. Thus, we have three commemorations of Christmas (CH 1.11, 11.1 and LS i); the Assumption of the Virgin is commemorated twice (CH Lxxx and II.xxix), as are Epiphany (CH Lvii and II.iii), St Stephen (CH 1.111 and 11.11) and St Martin (CH II.xxxiv and LS xxxi). Also, SS Peter and Paul are commemorated jointly (CH Lxxvi) and separately each (CH II.xxiv, St Peter, and CH Lxxvii, St Paul); in addition there is a piece for Cathedra S. Petri (LS x). In view of the restricted scope of ,Elfric's sanctorale, such frequent duplications are baffling indeed. In any case, it seems clear that exploring the composition of IElfric's sanctorale would hold as much interest as an analysis of the individual uitae, and that the way in which the overall structure and the individual uitae may reflect on each other would deserve scholarly attention.

THE TEXTUAL TRANSMISSION OF THE LIVES

It remains briefly to consider a class of evidence which is one of our most reliable indications of the reception of a medieval work: its manuscript [transmission](#). ¹² We have seen that the [textual transmission of the Lives of Saints collection is radically different from that of the two series of Catholic Homilies, in that IElfric apparently lost control over the transmission of the Lives of Saints, whereas he had occasion to issue various redactions of his Catholic Homilies](#). ¹³ It would appear that this situation was somehow connected with JElfric's changing authorial interests: he continued to work on the Catholic

Homilies over a long period of time, considerably expanding their temporale homilies, but he made only slight changes to his sanctorale after the first issue of the Catholic Homilies had left his study and after the Lives of Saints collection, approximately in the form it is preserved uniquely, in Julius E. vii, had been completed a few years later.¹⁴ If, as there may be reason to believe, JElfric at one point planned to add a second volume of saints' Lives to the existing Lives of Saints collection,¹⁵ no traces have survived that he ever set about executing such a plan. Most of the manuscripts which contain items from the Lives of Saints combine them with sanctorale, but also temporale, homilies from the two series of Catholic Homilies. Since in the course of developing a full temporale cycle, IElfric combined temporale homilies from the two series, augmenting them with freshly composed pieces, the question arises, whether /Elfric himself might have mixed saints' Lives from the Catholic Homilies with uitae from the Lives of Saints with the aim of creating an expanded sanctorale cycle. Again, `there is no evidence that he did'.¹⁶

In other words, we may assume that the Lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict in CUL Gg. 3. 28 - the most authoritative copy of the two series of Catholic Homilies, and a copy which issued from EElfric's scriptorium - occupy the position intended for them by zElfric in his original arrangement of the Catholic Homilies. We may perhaps also assume that the uitae of Swithun and IEthelthryth in Julius E. vii hold their place in this, the most complete, manuscript of the Lives of Saints in accordance with ,Elfric's intention. As for the other manuscripts in which the five Lives are [transmitted, these belong to textual traditions which are wholly independent of the author; they reflect, however, the way in which JElfric's sanctorale was studied by the following generations. In addition to CUL Gg. 3. 28 \(s. x/xi, probably written at Cerne Abbas\), the three Lives from the Catholic Homilies are transmitted in the following manuscripts:](#)¹⁷

Cuthbert: in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 + 342 (s. xi^o, [written at Canterbury or Rochester](#)),⁸ and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 198 (s. xi1, written perhaps at Worcester);

Benedict: in Bodley 340 + 342, Corpus 198, London, BL, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii (s. Xi 11ed) and Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 (s. xii2);¹⁹

Gregory: in Bodley 340 + 342, Corpus 198, Vitellius D. xvii, CUL Ii. 1. 33, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 (s. xi2 [1064 x 831, written at Worcester). In addition, there are four brief excerpts from

the Life written in the margins of the unique copy of 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' in London, BL, Cotton Faustina A. x, fols. 102-51 (s. xiii).²⁰

Thus, the uita of Cuthbert is transmitted in three manuscripts, that of Benedict in five, and that of Gregory in six, plus minor excerpts in a seventh manuscript.

Of the two uitae from the Lives of Saints '21 in addition to Julius E. vii (s. xi¹), written in the South of England), the Life of Swithun occurs in London, BL, Cotton Otho B. x (s. xi¹) and Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35 (s. xi¹led); and JEthelthryth occurs (apart from Julius E. vii) in Otho B. x, Vitellius D. xvii and CUL li. 1. 33.22

Gregory, therefore, clearly heads the list, and (as we shall see presently) his uita is remarkable in respect of two manuscripts in which it is preserved, but otherwise there are no significant differences in the transmission of the five Lives. The Lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict (but not those of Swithun and IEthelthryth) are preserved in Bodley 340 + 342. Like Gg. 3. 28 this is a manuscript of the two series of Catholic Homilies, but with some additional non-IElfrician homilies.²³ The Lives of Gregory and Benedict (from the Catholic Homilies) occur jointly with the Life of IEthelthryth (from the Lives of Saints) in Vitellius D. xvii, as do the Lives of Benedict and zEthelthryth in CUL li. 1. 33.24

Vitellius D. xvii (s. ximea) has suffered severe damage from the fire of 1731. It was a huge collection of homilies mainly for saints' days, with one exception all by IElfric (twenty-five of the two series of Catholic Homilies, twenty-six from the Lives of Saints).²⁵ Its former contents, as listed by Ker, can be reconstructed from the description of the manuscript made by Humfrey Wanley in 1705. We may be certain, therefore, that, apart from Gregory, Benedict and IEthelthryth, none other of the five Lives was contained in Vitellius D. xvii. A similar case is Otho B. x (s. xi¹), where Swithun and JEthelthryth (both from the Lives of Saints) are preserved jointly: a manuscript again badly damaged by the Cotton fire, but described by Wanley in 1705; it was once a substantial collection of mainly saints' Lives, and principally of 'Elfric's Lives of Saints (only one piece from the Catholic Homilies occurs).' Here again we may be certain that, apart from Swithun's and 'Ethelthryth's uitae, none of the remaining three Lives was extant. We may not be certain, however, in this respect with the fragments, recovered from bindings, which now constitute Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35, fols. 1-3 and 7 (s. xii). In addition to part of the Life of

Swithun, the folios contain fragments from two homilies for saints' days from the Catholic Homilies.²⁷ It is clear, therefore, that, as in Vitellius D. xvii and CUL II. 1. 33 and, to a very limited extent, in Otho B. x, saints' Lives from the Catholic Homilies and from the Lives of Saints were combined in the Gloucester manuscript, but there is no way of saying which other Lives the manuscript may once have contained. A further manuscript which combines homilies for saints' days with items from the Lives of Saints is Corpus 198 (s. xii). This manuscript has survived integrally, so it is certain that the Lives of Swithun and 'Ethelthryth were never part of it. But it does contain the Lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict, which is consonant with the fact that Corpus 198 is principally a textual witness to the two series of Catholic Homilies.²⁸

In sum, all of the three text witnesses for the Life of Cuthbert, three of the five witnesses for the Life of Benedict, and three of the seven witnesses for the Life of Gregory belong exclusively or predominantly to the textual tradition of the two series of the Catholic Homilies. This could imply that circulation of the Life of Cuthbert was restricted to the textual tradition of the Catholic Homilies, with the further implication that the cult of Cuthbert was never firmly rooted in the South, in spite of its active promotion as a [pan-English cult at the court of King 'Ethelstan and subsequently in the ambit of the three great reformers](#).²⁹ This impression might be corroborated by the two large collections combining saints' Lives from the Catholic Homilies and the Lives of Saints (Vitellius D. xvii and Otho B. x), in which Cuthbert does not occur. But perhaps it would be unwise to read too much into the sketchy evidence of the surviving manuscripts. After all, neither Gregory nor Benedict occur in Otho B. x, and we have no knowledge if any of the five Lives, apart from Swithun's, were contained in the Gloucester fragments.

The Life of Gregory is extant in the largest number of witnesses (six, and extracts in a seventh manuscript), two of which we have not encountered so far. Hatton 114 (s. xii) is the second volume (Hatton 113 being the first) of a vast collection of homilies, mostly by 'Elfric and Wulfstan. Here the Life of Gregory is contained within a block of homilies (almost all from the Catholic Homilies) for saints' days. Its preservation there is remarkable inasmuch as all the other pieces in the block pertain either to the feast days of the Virgin Mary or Christ, or to those of the apostles and evangelists, or to All Saints. The only item from the Lives of Saints which is included in the collection (but not in its sanctorale block) is the non-hagiographic 'Prayer of Moses'

(Skeat, no. xiii).³⁰ So a collection of the Lives of 'ordinary' saints was clearly not the concern of the compiler(s) of Hatton 113 and 114. But St Gregory was of course no ordinary saint; and the way jElfric had structured his uita, concentrating on Gregory the apostle of the English and on Gregory the preacher to the Romans and English alike in an age of distress, makes his Life sit well in a homiliary which contains a substantial number of Wulfstan's exhortatory sermons, the Sernio Lupi adAnglos among them.

Four brief extracts from Gregory's uita occur in Cotton Faustina A. x, fols. 102-51 (s. xii). This manuscript contains /Ethelwold's prose translation of the Regula S. Benedicti, followed by the unique copy of 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', a text also composed by EEthelwold, probably to serve as a preface to his translation of the Regula. To the account which IEthelwold gives here of the conversion of the English, brief explanatory additions are made in the margin by a twelfth-century hand, and marked for insertion in the text.³¹ It is of course not possible to say from what type of manuscript - a collection of saints' Lives, or a manuscript transmitting primarily the Catholic Homilies - the extracts from the uita were drawn;³² but there is scarcely any doubt about two points: a twelfth-century reader of 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries' knew his way around 'Elfric's Life of Gregory so well that he could extract brief sentences from it, and insert them in proper places in TEthelwold's tract. Furthermore, to my knowledge, no comparable use can be found for any other of fElfric's saints' Lives." This, in turn, confirms the pre-eminent position which Gregory's Old English uita still held after the Norman Conquest, and about a century and a half after its composition.

CONCLUSIONS

The manuscript transmission of our five Lives permits a few tentative conclusions. Apart from perhaps Gregory, there is no clear-cut and significant difference between the number of manuscripts in which the three Lives from the Catholic Homilies (Gregory, Cuthbert and Benedict) are preserved and the number of manuscripts that transmit the uitae from the Lives of Saints (Swithun and lEthelthryth), though the Lives from the Catholic Homilies tend to be preserved somewhat more frequently. This observation is confirmed when tested against the transmission of the other saints' Lives from the two collections respectively, as can be seen at a glance from the tables by Ker and H1 11.³⁴ What emerges further from these tables (and for the Catholic Homilies from the lists of the manuscript distribution of the indi

vidual homilies in the editions by Clemoes and Godden) is the overall more frequent transmission of the non-hagiographic items in the respective collections. In the Catholic Homilies, for which a great number of manuscripts have survived, the difference between the manuscript transmission of the homiletic and that of the hagiographic items is often considerable; but also for the Lives of Saints with their limited circulation, the non-hagiographic pieces in the collection had a better chance of being copied. The better overall preservation of the Lives from the Catholic Homilies is due principally to manuscripts such as CUL Gg. 3. 28, Bodley, 340 + 342 and Corpus 198, which transmit the Catholic Homilies integrally (if not always in the form Ælfric would have approved of). Apart from Julius E. vii, such manuscripts are lacking for the Lives of Saints, as we have seen; and even Julius E. vii is problematic, as we have also seen. For the Lives of Saints the difference in the transmission of the hagiographical and the non-hagiographical items has been noted by Joyce Hill; and Don Scragg has obtained similar results from his examination of the corpus of anonymous saints' Lives and their manuscript transmission. Both explain this situation by pointing out that saints' Lives, as narratives for a clearly defined purpose, do not lend themselves to being taken apart and extracts of them being re-used elsewhere, either as separate items or incorporated in a new text. But (as Hill and Scragg also point out) precisely such procedure is applied, not infrequently, in the case of exegetical homilies or exhortatory sermons, and accounts in large measure for the better preservation of these texts.³⁵ This observation is no doubt pertinent. In the case of Ælfric's saints' Lives, however, we may ask ourselves if additional factors could not have played a role in the restricted transmission of the texts. ~Ælfric never developed his sanctorale in a way that would bear comparison with his continuing work on the *tenz-* *porale*. Unlike the *tentporale* homilies, he scarcely augmented the sanctorale items, and if he at one point intended to write a companion volume to the existing Lives of Saints collection, this plan was apparently abandoned.³ No manuscript of the Lives of Saints has survived which bears the stamp of his authority. This may be accidental, but in light of his obvious neglect of the sanctorale, and in light of the numerous manuscripts which preserve the various stages of his work on the *temporale*, one may doubt that it was. Did Ælfric deliberately desist from working towards a full vernacular legendary, in modest imitation of the Cotton-Corpus legendary? Did he deliberately desist even from attempting to control the circulation of these items of the Lives of Saints that he had already produced? And if so, for what reasons? Was it because an apprehension, expressed in the Latin Preface to the Lives of Saints, had got the better of him, namely that 'the pearls (i.e. the saints) of Christ should be

held in contempt' (because the significance of their saintly lives could not be grasped by the laity)?³⁷ Was it because, during the years of a prolonged agony of the 'Kingdom of the English', he had gradually become convinced that expounding the word of God could strengthen the faith in a people harrassed by Viking attacks more effectively than could the contemplation of a saint's life, edifying, but usually inimitable to ordinary people?³¹¹ Or was it because, after the death of Ealdorman zEthelweard and others of the 'multorum fidelium' who had asked him to undertake the Lives of Saints,³⁹ iElfric had come to realize that there were ever fewer members of the political elite, endowed with the piety, education and leisure necessary for studying a comprehensive legendary in English?⁴⁰ There is no way of knowing.

Alternatively, the restricted transmission of 'Elfric's saints' Lives may be entirely due to later scribes and compilers of manuscripts, who, for whatever reasons, preferred to copy exegetical homilies. In view of IElfric's demonstrable concern with an elaboration of the teniporale and his almost certain disinclination to do the same for the sanctorale, this explanation may seem less likely, but it cannot be discounted outright. In any case, scribal predilections must be considered at least a contributory factor in the restricted dissemination of 'Elfric's saints' Lives. It is also possible that, after the Norman Conquest and in the wake of the burgeoning of professionally produced Latin hagiography of the type provided by Goscelin of SaintBertin, /Elfric's Old English hagiography (and the anonymous saints' Lives in the vernacular) fell out of fashion for the reasons that they were in the vernacular, and that there was no longer a reading public for them.{

But for whatever reasons EElfric's saints' Lives did not enjoy the wide circulation of his homiletic writings, there can be no doubt that they are unique in a European perspective. Nothing similar had been undertaken previously, and nothing similar would be attempted anywhere in Europe for several centuries to come. The uniqueness ofElfric's hagiographic writings lies in their scope and in their stylistic sophistication. In terms of scope, the earliest undertaking of compiling a legendary in the vernacular after IElfric would be the South English Legendary, which probably originated in the diocese of Worcester in about 1270 or shortly thereafter.⁴² However, most of its one hundred or so saints' Lives are brief (c. 50 to c. 400 lines), and hence summary accounts of a saint's activities; they are composed in pedestrian septenary rhyming couplets and in an unpretentious style. The stylistic sophistication and narrative skill which we have encountered in the five Lives is not seen again in English hagiography until Chaucer's Life

of St Cecily (The Second Nun's Tale). But 'Elfric's oeuvre is not confined to hagiography, and it is unique in other respects, too. His attempt to employ the vernacular for narrative and scholarly discourse alike, in a vast programme of translation and composition in English, was resumed only by sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century scholars and men of letters in the course of their often heated debates about the possibility and adequacy of English to vie with Latin and Greek as a language of literature and scholarship. The debates and endeavours of these scholars resulted in what has been called 'the triumph of the English language'.⁴³ Naturally, these scholars were unaware of what ~Elfric and his colleagues had successfully attempted in this respect (and certainly saints and their vitae were on the decline in that age). It remains for us, with hindsight, to draw the parallel between Anglo-Saxon and Renaissance England for obtaining a new perspective on the Anglo-Saxon achievement.

In our days saints are rarely culted, and saints' Lives have long ceased to be written by and for the intellectual elites; and it is only with the full range of tools available to modern historical research that we can attempt to recover the cultural ambience in which IElfric's Lives originated. But the Anglo-Saxon, and especially IElfric's, linguistic, stylistic, narrative and scholarly achievement is still there for us to explore and, by exploring it, to gain an ever better understanding of its uniqueness in the European Middle Ages.

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³ See Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*'.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp. 119–23.

¹ See [M. Parker *et al.*], *A Testimonie of Antiquitie, shewing the auncient fayth in the Church of England touching the sacrament of the body and bloude of the Lord here publikely preached and also receaued in the Saxons tyme 600 yeares agoe* (London, 1566 or 1567). For surveys of the period, see the essays in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship: the First Three Centuries*, ed. C. T. Berkhout and M. McC. Gatch (Boston, MA, 1982), and *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. T. Graham (Kalamazoo, MI, 1999); for the early eighteenth century, see also M. Gretsch, 'Elizabeth Elstob: a Scholar's Fight for Anglo-Saxon Studies', *Anglia* 117 (1999), 163–200 and 481–524, at 481–522.

² L. M. Reinsma, for example, lists 882 titles up to 1982: *Ælfric. An Annotated Bibliography*. Reinsma's bibliography has recently been updated by A. Kleist, 'An Annotated Bibliography of Ælfrician Studies: 1983–1996', who lists 162 items out of a total of approximately

¹² See *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, p. 2 and *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 4.

⁷ For the division of the liturgical year into *temporale* and *sanctorale* cycles, see, for example, Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 4–13, and Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, pp. 49–53. Traditionally the *temporale* contains the movable feasts keyed to Easter and the feasts pertaining to Christ such as Christmas; the *sanctorale* contains saints' feasts and feasts of the Virgin Mary, which are always celebrated on the same day of the year. A simple division into movable and immovable feasts is also possible, in which case Christmas and Epiphany would belong to the *sanctorale*: this division is adopted by Michael Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', pp. 115–16. Such a division makes sense because feasts such as Christmas and Epiphany (but not the movable feasts) are recorded in Anglo-Saxon liturgical calendars.

⁸ For these figures and lists of the items in question, see Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', pp. 116–19. The total of fifty-four feasts of the *sanctorale* is arrived at by ignoring the duplications of feasts which occur in the three collections.

⁹ See Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 9 (London, BL, Cotton Titus D. xxvii), 10 (Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15. 32), 11 (London, BL, Arundel 60) and 12 (London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii).

¹⁰ See *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 6.

¹¹ See *Catholic Homilies I*, ed. Clemons, p. 173.

⁵ The critical editions of the *Catholic Homilies* are: *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. P. Clemons, EETS SS 17 (Oxford, 1997) and *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series*, ed. M. Godden, EETS SS 5 (Oxford, 1979).

⁶ The edition is: *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS OS 76, 82, 94 and 114 (London, 1881–1900; repr. in 2 vols., 1966). There are thirty-six pieces in Skeat's numbering from which four (three in Skeat's numbering) non-Ælfrician Lives have to be subtracted (nos. xxiii and xxiiiB, xxix and xxxiii). For the changes which the *Lives of Saints* underwent in the course of their manuscript transmission, see Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: a Preliminary Survey'; for the non-Ælfrician pieces, see *ibid.*, pp. 236–7 and 253, n. 4.

²¹ For an analysis of Ælfric's attitude towards this feast of the Virgin, see M. Clayton, 'Ælfric and the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary', *Anglia* 104 (1986), 286–315; for the importance of the cult of the Virgin in reform circles and especially at Winchester, see Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 61–89 and 110–21, and Clayton, 'Centralism and Uniformity Versus Localism and Diversity: the Virgin and Native Saints in the Monastic Reform', *Peritia* 8 (1994), 95–106.

²² The Life of St Vincent is ptd by Skeat as an appendix: see *Lives of Saints II*, 426–43.

²³ For the cult of St Vincent in late Anglo-Saxon England and the view that Ælfric's Life was commissioned, probably by the Abingdon monks, see S. E. Irvine, 'Bones of Contention: the Context of Ælfric's Homily on St Vincent', *ASE* 19 (1990), 117–32.

¹⁶ See *Catholic Homilies II*, ed. Godden, pp. 297–8. For a discussion of Ælfric's attitude towards the *uita* of St Thomas in terms of his orthodoxy and interest in history, see Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', pp. 88–90. The kind of passing reference which Ælfric has to the episode in question would seem to indicate that the Old English poetic version of the *passio* was known at least among the first readers of the *Catholic Homilies*. Unfortunately it has not survived.

¹⁷ 'sicut Æþelwerdus uenerabilis dux obnix nos praecatus est', *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat II, 400.

¹⁸ As emerges both from the Latin and from the Old English preface to the collection: *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 4.

¹⁹ This much emerges from the Latin conclusion to the English preface to the First Series, which has been preserved in Cambridge, University Library, Gg. 3. 28: see *Catholic Homilies I*, ed. Clemons, p. 177, app. crit.

²⁰ Ælfric's remarks are found in a note in the Second Series of the *Catholic Homilies* in the place which would have been appropriate for commemorating the feast on 8 September: see *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, p. 271. The homily which Ælfric eventually composed for that feast is ed. by Assmann, *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben*, pp. 24–48.

¹³ See Godden, 'Experiments in Genre: the Saints' Lives in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*', pp. 261–2; Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', pp. 94–7; and Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', pp. 107–8.

¹⁴ See above, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, nos. xxvi and xxix. The commemoration of a third Frankish saint, St Maur (*Lives of Saints*, no. vi), is no doubt due to the (erroneous) notion that he was St Benedict's principal student: his *uita* relates many incidents pertaining to a biography of St Benedict.

⁴⁰ See Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', pp. 131–2, nos. 169–76.

³³ Thirty-eight blessings in the Benedictional, fifty-four feasts in Ælfric's *sanctorale* against 209 to 226 feasts in the Winchester calendars; see above, p. 3.

³⁴ For Ælfric's penchant for this type, see above, p. 4.

³⁵ For the commemoration of SS Julian and Basilissa in Anglo-Saxon calendars and the possible connection with the Cotton-Corpus legendary, see Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 123.

³⁶ See Whatley, 'An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources', p. 14.

³⁷ See Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English', p. 37.

³⁸ See *Aldbelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, chs. xxxv and xxxvi, pp. 276–84; trans. Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 96–102.

³⁹ A further instance where Ælfric's *sanctorale* may have been influenced by the prose *De uirginitate* is the coupling of the Lives of SS Agatha and Lucy as *Lives of Saints*, nos. viii and ix, a coupling by which the chronology of the collection is disturbed. Agatha's *uita* is told against its correct date (5 February); it is followed by that of Lucy for which no date

is given (the correct date would have been 13 December). An explanation why Ælfric chose this peculiar place for St Lucy's *uita* may be found in the prose *De uirginitate*, chs. 41 and 42, where the Lives of Agatha and Lucy are linked, and where Aldhelm has a remark to the effect that their *passiones* should be coupled on the authority of St Gregory who stipulated that Agatha and Lucy should be invoked together in the daily litany at mass: see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 293–4; trans. Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 107–9. Note that in the litanies surviving from Anglo-Saxon England Agatha and Lucy occur together only in twelve litanies, whereas they are invoked separately in twenty-eight litanies. (The litanies have been ptd by Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*.) Note also that in the Cotton-Corpus legendary the Lives of Agatha and Lucy are entered against their correct dates and are thus far apart.

³⁰ There are blessings for two further feasts in the Benedictional for which no homily is provided by Ælfric: the Conversion of St Paul (25 January; Æ 36, *CBP* 940) and SS Tiburtius and Valerian (14 April, Æ 83, *CBP* 153). However, *Catholic Homilies* I, xxvii (*Natale S. Pauli apostoli*) is in large part the story of St Paul's conversion, and the *passio* of Tiburtius and Valerian, husband and brother-in-law of St Caecilia, is included in her Life as *Lives of Saints* II, no. xxxiv, against 22 November. Note that the Benedictional has a separate blessing for St Caecilia but none for the deposition of St Paul. Note also that the Cotton-Corpus legendary, like Ælfric, does not provide pieces for the conversion of St Paul and for Tiburtius and Valerian.

³¹ To these thirty-four parallels add St Paul and SS Tiburtius and Valerian; see above, n. 30.

³² This gives us a total of twenty-one additional commemorations in Ælfric's *sanctorale*. For the aforementioned number of fifty-four feast days in Ælfric's *sanctorale* we must add thirty-five parallels between Ælfric and the Benedictional and subtract the Lives of SS Eugenia (25 December) and Basilus (1 January), dates on which Ælfric and the Benedictional agree in commemorating Christ's Nativity and the Octave of Christmas, but where the Benedictional does not commemorate Eugenia and Basilus. (The discrepancy between the thirty-five parallels in the Benedictional and Ælfric counted here and the thirty-six given above is explained by Caecilia and Tiburtius and Valerian being accorded two feast days in the Benedictional but only one in Ælfric; see above, n. 30.)

²⁵ See Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English: Latin Manuscripts and Vernacular Accounts: Ælfric'.

²⁶ See Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 123.

²⁷ For the probable date of the Benedictional, see Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold*, pp. 212–14 and 260–1.

²⁸ For Æthelwold's involvement in the production of his Benedictional, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 252–4 and *passim*. Contemporary evidence for Æthelwold's involvement is found in the dedication poem of the book: for this poem, see below, p. 19 and n. 83.

- ²⁹ The numbers for the blessings in Æthelwold's Benedictional (Æ) are those given by Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', pp. 128–32; *CBP* refers to the numbers in Moeller, *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*.
- ²⁴ For a description of the manuscript and a helpfully detailed listing of its contents, see now Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary'.
- ⁴⁴ But note that St Basilius has a mass set in the sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges only.
- ⁴² Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 274 (Y 6), 1014 × 1023, from Peterborough or Ely (?), ptd Wilson, *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*.
- ⁴³ Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale, 330, s. xi², from the New Minster, Winchester, ptd Turner, *The Missal of the New Minster*.
- ⁴¹ Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale, 127 (105), s. x^{3/4} or s. x^{4/4}, from Winchcombe or Ramsey (?), ptd Davril, *The Winchcombe Sacramentary*.
- ⁴⁸ For the date and provenance of the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, see, briefly, Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', pp. 135–6, and cf. the list of its blessings, *ibid.*, pp. 136–40. There is a recent ed. by N. Orchard, *The Sacramentary of Ratoldus*, HBS 116 (London, 2005).
- ⁴⁹ See Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 137, nos. 35 and 36, and Orchard, ed., *Ratoldus*, nos. 462 and 467.
- ⁵⁰ See Prescott, 'The Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', p. 152, no. 195; for the Canterbury Benedictional, cf. *ibid.*, p. 132.
- ⁵¹ On the benedictional in the Anderson Pontifical, see Prescott, 'Structure', pp. 121–3, and cf. the table of contents, *ibid.*, pp. 134–8.
- ⁴⁵ For the especial cult of Vedastus in late-tenth- and eleventh-century Winchester, see Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', pp. 120–1, and Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. lxvi and lxxxix.
- ⁴⁶ Alcuin's Life of St Vedastus is ptd *PL* 101, cols. 665–78; the parallels between this text and Wulfstan's Life of Æthelwold are pointed out (and ptd) by Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* IV.1 (1999), p. 253. I owe this reference to Michael Lapidge.
- ⁴⁷ See Jackson and Lapidge, 'Contents of Cotton-Corpus', p. 141, nos. 120–1.

⁶³ On fol. 1v, Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 1.

⁶⁴ See Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 129, no. 43, *CBP* 807.

⁶⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 132, no. 173, *CBP* 1733.

⁵⁷ Cf. Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 128, nos. 24 and 25, *CBP* nos. 732 and 1087. Both these blessings make mention also of Christ's presence at the Wedding of Cana, which was a 'manifestation' also remembered on Epiphany.

⁵⁸ See *Catholic Homilies* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 232–48; here Ælfric refers briefly also to the Wedding at Cana.

⁵⁹ See *Catholic Homilies* II, ed. Godden, pp. 19–28.

⁶⁰ No. ix: Gregory, no. x: Cuthbert, no xi: Benedict.

⁶¹ See Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 120.

⁶² The blessings are listed by Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 131, no. 146; *CBP* 1770 (of English origin); for an interpretation of the feast picture (fol. 99v; Deshman, pl. 33), see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 117–31; for a connection between the iconographic message of the miniature and scholarly work on Old English vocabulary, see Gretsche, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, pp. 296–310. For the Benedictional's influence on Ælfric's Life of Benedict, see below, pp. 151–5.

⁵² Note that there were losses from the miniatures of the Benedictional, which, for the feast miniatures, can, however, be safely reconstructed from the surviving blessings: Holy Innocents, St Michael, the Nativity of the Virgin. These too are represented by pieces in Ælfric's *sanctorale*. For the lost miniatures, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 258–9.

⁵³ Cf. Deshman, *Benedictional*, pls. 18 and 19. In addition to Deshman's reproduction of all the full-page illustrations in the Benedictional, the entire book is now available in a (reasonably priced) facsimile edition: *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold: A Masterpiece of Anglo-Saxon Art. A Facsimile*, introd. A. Prescott (London, 2002).

⁵⁴ For the possible date of the *Benedictional*, see above, p. 7, n. 27.

⁵⁵ For a searching interpretation of the pictures, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 45–52.

⁵⁶ For the origin and development of the feast, see *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. Cross, p. 554, s. v. Epiphany (with further literature).

⁶⁹ Ptd by H. Tristram, 'Vier altenglische Predigten aus der heterodoxen Tradition' (Ph.D. dissertation, Freiburg University, 1970), pp. 428–9, but earlier (and unnoticed by Tristram) by Elizabeth Elstob, *An English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St Gregory* (London, 1709), Appendix, pp. 33–4.

⁷⁰ For an edition and translation of the preface, see Whitelock, 'An Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries'.

⁶⁶ Recall that of the four Doctors of the Church, Ælfric celebrates St Gregory alone, while in the *Benedictional* he is joined by St Ambrose who is, however, not assigned an individualized blessing; see above, p. 12.

⁶⁷ See Prescott, 'Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', p. 138, no. 150 and p. 152, no. 212.

⁶⁸ Of the three eleventh-century mass books mentioned above (p. 10), St Augustine is given an especial mass set in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges (p. 177), and the New Minster Missal (p. 98).

⁷³ For the difficulty of evaluating the *Benedictional*'s failure to commemorate Swithun's *translatio* and the impossibility of assigning a precise date for the composition of the set of benedictions for the *translatio*, as found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146 (s. xiⁿ, prob. from the Old Minster, Winchester), see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 22 and 86–9.

⁷¹ The *Lives of Saints* cannot be later than c. 998: they are dedicated to Ealdorman Æthelweard, whose last attestation of a charter occurs in 998 (S 895), and who presumably died in this year or shortly afterwards: see Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready'*, p. 192 and n. 139.

⁷² Note that if the date for St Swithun would have been 15 July instead of 2 July, he still would have come next to St Æthelthryth in the *sanctorale* of the *Lives of Saints*, so the type of feast – the deposition in both cases – must have mattered to Ælfric.

⁷⁴ For an interpretation of the iconographic representation of Æthelthryth and Swithun, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 121–4 and 138–9. For Æthelthryth, both the artists of the Benedictional and Ælfric had recourse to the report of her given by Bede: cf. *HE* IV.19[17]–20[18] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 391–401). In the case of Swithun, the lack of biographical detail elicits a critical comment from Ælfric (cf. *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 442, and ed. Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 590 (ch. 1)), and consequently he had to resort largely to a narration of Swithun's *post-mortem* miracles.

⁷⁵ On fols. 1v–2r, Deshman, *Benedictional*, pls. 2 and 3.

⁷⁷ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 151–2; for the lost leaves at the beginning of the Benedictional, see *ibid.*, pp. 146 and 257–60.

⁷⁶ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 151.

⁷⁸ One such link for the *temporale* may be formed by the representation of the Ascension in the Benedictional and Ælfric's homily for this occasion: see Benedictional, fol. 64v, Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 25 and *ibid.*, pp. 58–62, and *Catholic Homilies* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 345–53.

⁷⁹ For the text of the Benedictional, see Prescott, 'Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', pp. 119–21, and Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', pp. 128–32 (table 1), where the sources for each of the benedictions are listed. For the 'English' benedictions, see also Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. lxxix–lxxxiii.

⁸⁰ For the books in question, see Prescott, 'Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', pp. 120–55, with useful lists of the contents and sources for a number of the late Anglo-Saxon benedictionals.

⁸¹ This tradition of composing new blessings initiated by Æthelwold reached its apogee in the so-called Exeter Benedictional (London, BL, Add. 28188), probably written at Exeter, s. xi^{3/4}, but based on an earlier text which was probably compiled at Winchester in the early eleventh century: cf. Prescott, 'Structure of Pre-Conquest Benedictionals', p. 130.

⁸⁴ See, for example, Ælfric's retrospection at the end of his Life of St Swithun: *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 468–70, and ed. Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun*, p. 606; and cf. his similar remarks in 'The Prayer of Moses' (*LS* I, 294), and in his 'Epilogue' to the Old English Heptateuch (ed. Crawford, pp. 416–17). For Archbishop Wulfstan's laws looking back to King Edgar's legislation, see Wormald, *The Making of English Law* I, 457, 463–4 and *passim*.

- ⁸² For this group of ealdormen and thegns who on charter evidence were prominent in Æthelred's entourage in the 990s and the first years of the new millennium, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 191–3 and 209–13, and Keynes, 'Apocalypse Then: England AD 1000', pp. 261–4.
- ⁸³ Cf.: 'omnes cernentes bibulum'; Godeman's poem is printed by Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style in Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Literature', pp. 143–4; the quotation is in line 36. The translation of the poem by F. Wormald, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold* (London, 1959), pp. 7–8, is repr. by Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 148. The poem also provides important contemporary evidence for Æthelwold's personal involvement in the production of the Benedictional.
- ¹ The Life of St Gregory is included in the Second Series of the *Catholic Homilies* [hereafter *CH*]; see *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 72–80 (no. ix). Both series of *CH* were sent for inspection to Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury (990–4), as emerges from their Latin prefaces: cf *CH* I, ed. Clemons, pp. 173–4, and *CH* II, 1. This poses a *terminus ad quem* of 28 October 994, the date of Archbishop Sigeric's death, for the issue of the Second Series. For the date of Sigeric's death, see Keynes, *Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 251–3.
- ⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 314: 'noster inquam, qui nostris parentibus errorem tetrae gentilitatis abstulit et regenerantis gratiae normam tradidit'; *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 125. For similar statements, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 242, *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 70, and *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 390, lines 875–80 (*Carmen de uirginitate*), *Aldhelm: Poetic Works*, trans. Lapidge and Rosier, p. 122.
- ⁹ For the prominence in place and space accorded to Gregory in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, see Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory the Great*, pp. 2–3.
- ¹⁰ Cf. *HE* II. 1 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 122). 'Well indeed may we, the English nation converted by his efforts from the power of Satan to the faith of Christ . . .' (trans. *ibid.*, p. 123).
- ¹¹ 'We can and should by rights call him our apostle', *ibid.*
- ¹² Ed. and trans. Milfull, *The Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 386–7 (no. 116).

² The bibliography on Gregory is vast, but, fortunately, it can be controlled by a number of efficient research tools. The most recent and most comprehensive bibliography is R. Godding, *Bibliografia di Gregorio Magno (1890–1989). Opere di Gregorio Magno*, Complementi 1 (Rome, 1990). It can be updated by annual bibliographies in various periodicals such as *Medioevo Latino*. A convenient select bibliography is provided by Straw, 'Gregory the Great', pp. 61–72. This monograph also contains a useful general introduction to Gregory's life and activities (though deficient with regard to Gregory's involvement in the English mission), and a brief description of his works, listing editions and translations (pp. 7–60). For two recent book-length studies, covering all important aspects of Gregory's life and thought-world, see Straw, *Gregory the Great: Perfection in Imperfection*, and Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*.

³ The Whitby Life is ed. and trans. Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great by an Anonymous Monk of Whitby*. For the date, see *ibid.*, pp. 47–9.

⁴ See *ibid.*, ch. 5 (p. 80), ch. 27 (p. 122) and ch. 30 (p. 134).

⁵ Cf.: 'quando omnes apostoli, suas secum prouincias ducentes Domino in die iudicii ostendent, atque singuli gentium doctores, nos ille, id est gentem Anglorum, . . . per se gratia Dei credimus edoctam adducere': 'when all the Apostles bring their own peoples with them and each individual teacher brings his own race to present them to the Lord in the Day of Judgment, he will bring us – that is, the English people – instructed by him through God's grace', *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, ch. 6 (pp. 82–3).

⁶ For the problems involved in establishing a date for the composition of Aldhelm's prose *De uirginitate* and the *Carmen de uirginitate* (where his references to Gregory occur), see Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 14–15.

⁷ See *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 293.

¹³ See *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 73. (Note that – for reasons of clarity – in quotations from *CH I* and *II*, I have edited throughout the text quoted, by providing capitalization and punctuation in accordance with the usual practice in editions of Old English texts. Also, I have not reproduced the accents.) 'He is rightly called the apostle of the English people, both because he through his counsel and mission rescued us from the worship of the devil, and converted us to the belief of God.'

¹⁹ In fact, Ælfric has no comment at all after hymn no. 81 (in the Gneuss–Milfull numbering): cf. Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, p. 58. The relevant sections in Ælfric's *Letter* are: *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. Jones, nos. 13 (p. 114), 50 (p. 137) and 54 (p. 139).

¹⁵ For Ælfric proudly referring to himself as one of Bishop Æthelwold's students, see, for example, *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, p. 173 (Latin Preface): 'Ego Ælfricus alumnus Adelwoldi beneuoli et uenerabilis presulis': 'I Ælfric, a student of the benevolent and venerable prelate Æthelwold'. For similar references, see, for example, *Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Zupitza, p. 1, and *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. Jones, p. 110. For Aldhelm as the most important curriculum author in late-tenth-century Winchester and late Anglo-Saxon England at large, see Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style', pp. 111–13, and Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 332–83.

¹⁶ See chs. 41 and 42 of the prose *De uirginitate, Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 293–4; Aldhelm's remark on Gregory's instigation is at p. 293. For Ælfric's Lives, see *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 194–218 (nos. viii and ix). For Aldhelm's possible influence on Ælfric's arrangement, see also above, p. 9, n. 39.

¹⁷ For the manuscripts, see Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen im englischen Mittelalter*, pp. 85–90 and 108–9, and Milfull, *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 27–41 and 47–9.

¹⁸ See Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, table II, p. 62; for the apostle hymns as a group, see *ibid.*, p. 240, and Milfull, *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 375–6; the hymns in question are nos. 104.₁–116, and 104.₂ in the numbering of Gneuss and Milfull. For the broad distinction between a Winchester (–Worcester) and Canterbury type of hymnal, see Gneuss, *Hymnar*, pp. 69–74.

¹⁴ See below, pp. 29–33 and 61–3.

²³ See Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 60 and 63–70.

²⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 69. It must be said, however, that the Whitby Life gives as a source for the episode the 'narratio fidelium' (ch. 9, p. 90), and Bede says that the story came to him by way of 'traditione maiorum' (*HE* II. 1 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 132)), 'as a tradition of our forefathers', and relegates it, as a kind of appendix, to the very end of his biography of Gregory, out of the context of his narrative of the mission to England. This looks suspiciously like the remnants of an oral, if Latin and clerical, transmission, especially since Bede's and the Whitby versions of the story differ from each other.

²⁵ See Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 75–7. See also Thacker, 'Peculiaris Patronus Noster: the Saint as Patron of the State in the Early Middle Ages', in *The Medieval State. Essays Presented to James Campbell*, ed. J. R. Maddicott and D. M. Palliser (London, 2000), pp. 1–24, at 17–19 and (for the cult of Gregory in Alfredian England) 20–1.

²⁰ An altar at Canterbury and a chapel at York are mentioned by Bede, *HE* II. 3 and II. 20 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 114 and 204); another altar at Whitby is mentioned in the *Whitby Life* (ed. Colgrave, ch. 19 (p. 105)). Cf. also Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, pp. 264–5, and Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory*, pp. 1–2. For the possibility that a church, dedicated to St Gregory, existed at Northampton, perhaps as early as the first half of the eighth century, see J. Blair, 'Palaces or Minsters? Northampton and Cheddar Reconsidered', *ASE* 25 (1996), 97–121, at 105.

²¹ See, for example, Colgrave in *Whitby Life*, pp. 50–3; for further references to this opinion, cf. Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory the Great: the Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', p. 63, n. 23.

²² On Eanflæd, see Lapidge, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, p. 153. For the Northumbrian rulers, see *Handbook of British Chronology*, ed. Fryde *et al.*, pp. 5–6, and Keynes in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, 'Appendix', p. 503. For kings Edwin and Oswiu, see Holdsworth in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, pp. 163–4 and 349; for Bishop Paulinus, see Lapidge, *ibid.*, p. 359.

²⁷ The litanies in Galba A. xviii and Royal 2. A. XX are ptd Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 172–3 (no. xvii) and 212–13 (no. xxvi). For the manuscripts, see *ibid.* pp. 70–1 and 75; for a discussion of the origin of the litanies preserved in them, see *ibid.*, pp. 13–25, and Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 168–72.

²⁶ See Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, pp. 26–7.

²⁸ For the Leiden Glossary as a testimony to Theodore's and Hadrian's Canterbury school, see Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 149–63 (for the manuscripts of the family, see *ibid.*, 'Appendix', pp. 163–8); and see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 173–9. The Leiden Glossary is ptd by Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*.

²⁹ The Gregory batches are ptd Hessels, *Late Eighth-Century Glossary*, pp. 40–2. For a synopsis of the contents of the Leiden Glossary and the sources of the individual batches, see *ibid.*, pp. xxxvii–xli; for the Gregory batches, see *ibid.*, p. xl (no. xxix). Lists of batches and their sources are also given conveniently in Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian', pp. 150–1, and Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 174–5.

³⁰ *HE* IV. 2 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 334); 'for having such brave Christian kings, they [*i.e.* the English] were a terror to all barbarian nations, and the desires of all men were set on the joys of the heavenly kingdom of which they had only lately heard; while all who wished for instruction in sacred studies had teachers ready to hand' (trans. *ibid.*, p. 335).

³¹ See *King Alfred's West-Saxon Version of Gregory's Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet I, 1–5. For Ælfric's presumed knowledge of the Alfredian texts, see below, pp. 35–6.

- ³² For Ælfric's thoughts on this point, which can be traced especially in his *Lives of Saints* collection, see below, pp. 56–7.
- ³³ See Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 520 and 527.
- ³⁵ See *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, ch. 128 (pp. 124–6) and pp. 159–61, and Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 67–9.
- ³⁶ For an explanation of what the reference to the 'Dicta' may imply, see Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', pp. 71–3.
- ³⁷ For the possible association of the source material with Theodore, see Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 68–9. For the link between Whitby and Worcester established by Otfor, bishop of Worcester (691–3?), see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England, 600–800*, pp. 186–9.
- ³⁸ The Whitby Life is preserved in one continental manuscript only (now St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 567), written in the ninth century, probably at St Gallen; for the manuscript, see *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 63–9, and cf. B. Bischoff in the third volume (forthcoming) of his *Katalog der festländischen Handschriften des neunten Jahrhunderts*: St Gallen, s. ix^{2/4} or ix^{med} (I am grateful to Dr Birgit Ebersperger for providing me with this reference). The text of the Whitby Life was, however, demonstrably available at Rome in the late ninth century: see below, pp. 50–1.
- ³⁹ See *Whitby Life* ed. Colgrave, ch. 24 (p. 116) and p. 155, and Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', p. 68. For the *Dialogi*, see *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*, ed. Hecht, pp. 94 and 179. (But cf. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 186–7, who sees no direct link between the two texts.)
- ³⁴ See J. D. Pheifer, 'The Canterbury Bible Glosses: Facts and Problems', in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 281–333, at 283–7.
- ⁴² For some confirmation of the possibility that Ælfric did indeed know the Whitby Life, see below, p. 62, and n. 176.
- ⁴⁰ On these links see, for example, Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 69–74, Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 82–91, and Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 41 and 69–70, n. 173.

⁴¹ For a survey of the period in question (with due consideration given to the Mercian component in late-ninth- and tenth-century West Saxon politics), see Keynes, 'England, 700–900', and Keynes, 'England, 900–1016'. For King Alfred's recourse to Mercian scholarship, see the Preface to his translation of the *Regula pastoralis*, ed. Sweet I, 1–9; trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 124–6. For Alfred's ties with the Mercian royal house and the Mercians in general, see S. Keynes, 'King Alfred and the Mercians', in *Kings, Currency and Alliances. History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century*, ed. M. A. S. Blackburn and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 1–45. For the important role played by Bishop Koenwald of Worcester at King Æthelstan's court, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 198–201, and Keynes, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, pp. 273–5. For the future Bishop Æthelwold's *adolescentia* in King Æthelstan's entourage, see *Wulfstan: Life*, chs. 7–9 (pp. 10–15). For the shaping influence of the intellectual climate at King Æthelstan's court on young Æthelwold, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 332–49. For Æthelwold's siding with Edgar in the mysterious division of the kingdom between 957–9, see Æthelwold's own testimony in the Preface (known as 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries') to his translation of the *Regula S. Benedicti*, ptd and trans. Whitelock, 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', p. 146.

⁴³ See Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', ed. Stevenson, ch. 77 (p. 62); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 92. For the date of Asser's Life, see ed. Stevenson, ch. 91 (p. 76); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, p. 101; and see *ibid.*, pp. 269–70.

⁴⁴ See above, p. 27.

⁴⁵ See *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet I, 7. It is probable that the production and distribution of copies of the Old English *Dialogues* was organized in a way similar to that of the *Pastoral Care*: see Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, pp. 201–3 and 225–31; for the production of the first copies of the *Pastoral Care*, see *ibid.*, pp. 140–7. Note that this parallel in the production and dissemination of the two works involves another link between Winchester and Worcester.

⁴⁹ See *Old English Version*, ed. Miller I, 64–88. Note that in Miller's edition the Old English version of the *Libellus* has been transposed from the end of book III of the Old English Bede, where it occurs in all the manuscripts, to book I, its place in *HE*. For an attempt to explain the misplacement in the manuscripts, see S. Rowley, 'Shifting Contexts: Reading Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum* in Book III of the Old English Bede', in *Rome and the North*, ed. Bremner *et al.*, pp. 83–92. Also note that Gregory's first letter to the missionaries on their way to England (when, despairing of the difficulty of their task, they intended to call the whole undertaking off) is translated in abbreviated form and indirect speech: cf. *Old English Version*, ed. Miller I, 56, and *HE* I. 23 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 70).

⁵⁰ See below, pp. 57–60.

- ⁴⁶ For the OE Bede and its connection with the Alfredian programme, see Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', and Whitelock, 'Prose of Alfred's Reign', pp. 77–9. The text is ptd by Miller, *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.
- ⁴⁷ See above, p. 26, n. 24. For a commentary on Bede's account in these chapters, see Wallace-Hadrill, *HE, Commentary*, pp. 30–52, and the still invaluable annotations by Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* II, 36–73. For a judicious overall assessment of Bede's perception of Gregory, see Meyvaert, *Bede and Gregory*.
- ⁴⁸ The authenticity of the *Libellus responsionum* has been proved beyond reasonable doubt by P. Meyvaert, 'Bede's Text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury', in *England before the Conquest. Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, ed. P. Clemons and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 15–33; and Meyvaert, 'Le *libellus responsionum* à Augustin de Cantorbéry: une oeuvre authentique de saint Grégoire le Grand', in *Grégoire le Grand*, ed. J. Fontaine *et al.* (Paris, 1986), pp. 543–50. See also H. Chadwick, 'Gregory the Great and the Mission to the Anglo-Saxons', in *Gregorio Magno e il suo tempo*, 2 vols., *Studia Ephemeridis 'Augustinianum'* 33–4 (Rome, 1991) I, 198–212, at 207–12. There is a useful summary of the debate concerning the authenticity of the *Libellus responsionum* in general, and of *responsiones* nos. 8 and 9 in particular, by R. Meens, 'A Background to Augustine's Mission to Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 23 (1994), 5–17, at 6–11. Meens (*ibid.*, p. 8) accepts Meyvaert's demonstration of the authenticity of the entire *Libellus*, as do, for example, Straw, 'Gregory the Great', p. 48 and Markus, *Gregory the Great*, p. 184 and n. 86. The doubts revived recently on the authenticity of *responsio* no. 9 are not based on fresh evidence, nor indeed on a critical appraisal of the existing evidence; apparently they are informed by the author's endeavour to detect witnesses to the knowledge of Cassian's writings in Anglo-Saxon England (for which purpose *responsio* no. 9 needs to be an English composition): see S. Lake, 'Knowledge of the Writings of John Cassian in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE* 32 (2003), 27–41, at 36–7.
- ⁵¹ See *CHI*, ed. Clemons, p. 174: 'buton þam bocum ðe Ælfred cyning snoterlice awende of Ledene on Englisc': 'except for those books which King Alfred translated skilfully from Latin into English'. Ælfric's approval of the Alfredian translations must be judged in the light of his wholesale condemnation of Old English religious texts (presumably of the type of the Vercelli and Blickling Homilies) for falsifying the Christian doctrine: see *ibid.*, and cf. Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', pp. 99–102.
- ⁵² See *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 72: 'and eac Historia Anglorum ða ðe Ælfred cyning of Ledene on Englisc awende': 'and also the *Historia Anglorum* which King Alfred translated from Latin into English'.
- ⁵³ See *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 205: 'Eac se halga papa Gregorius awrat on ðære bec Dialegorum hu micclum seo halige mæsse manegum fremode. Seo boc is on Englisc awend; on ðære mæg gehwa be ðison genihtsumlice gehyran se ðe hi oferrædan wile.': 'Also, the holy Pope Gregory wrote in his book of the *Dialogues* how greatly many people benefitted from holy mass. This book is translated into English, in which everyone who will peruse it may hear fully about this subject.'

⁵⁴ See Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', pp. 102–4. Malcolm Godden, in a recent publication, misrepresents my argument here. It will be obvious that, by referring to 'isolated verbal echoes', I do not 'question' the use of the Alfredian Boethius by Ælfric, as Godden maintains: see his *The Translations of Alfred and his Circle, and the Misappropriations of the Past*, pp. 13–14, n. 20. I may, however, be reproached for endorsing uncritically Godden's earlier remarks ('Ælfric and the Prose Tradition') in which he quotes the single sentence from Alfred's *Pastoral Care* which Ælfric apparently recycles and then refers summarily to 'borrowings of this kind' (p. 104) with regard to Ælfric's indebtedness to the Alfredian Boethius, when, in fact, more substantial borrowings would seem to be in question here.

⁵⁵ That the revision was produced in Bishop Æthelwold's school had already been ingeniously surmised by Hecht, *Bischof Wærferths Übersetzung*, p. 131. That it was produced, *inter alia*, to streamline the text into some conformity with Winchester vocabulary has been convincingly demonstrated by Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch*, pp. 146–9. For the character of the Winchester words and the rationale behind their employment, see now Gretsch, 'Winchester Vocabulary and Standard Old English', pp. 44–69.

⁵⁶ For Ealdwulf as the possible reviser, see D. Yerkes, 'The Translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* and its Revision: Textual History, Provenance, Authorship', in *Studies in Earlier Old English Prose*, ed. P. E. Szarmach (Albany, NY, 1986), pp. 335–43, at 341. For Ealdwulf's connection with Æthelwold, see Lapidge in *Wulfstan: Life*, p. 41, n. 7; for the refoundation of Peterborough, see *ibid.*, p. 40, n. 6.

⁵⁷ See Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spätaltenglische Sprachgebrauch*, p. 21.

⁵⁸ For this impact, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 82–4 and 341–7.

⁵⁹ For the contents and history of the manuscript and the programme of reform transmitted by it, see Keynes, 'The Reconstruction of a Burnt Cottonian Manuscript: the Case of Cotton MS. Otho A. i.'; for the reform, see esp. pp. 135–41.

⁶⁰ For the original contents and the surviving fragments, see Keynes, 'Otho A. i', pp. 116–17 and 124–5.

⁶³ The fact that the Whitby Life specifically mentions Gregory's invocation in the litany may further confirm this suggestion: see *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, ch. 32 (p. 138).

⁶⁴ The litanies have been ptd in their entirety by Lapidge, *Litanies*.

⁶⁵ As in Lapidge, *Litanies*, no. XX (Cotton Tiberius C. vi). Gregory is absent only from six of the forty-six manuscripts ptd by Lapidge.

⁶⁶ As in Lapidge, *Litanies*, no. XL III.86; for the difficulty of identifying Augustine of Canterbury, see *ibid.*, p. 63. For the development of the cult of St Augustine in Anglo-Saxon England, see also A. Thacker, 'In Gregory's Shadow? The Pre-Conquest Cult of St Augustine', in *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson (Stroud, 1999), pp. 374–90; for the tenth and eleventh centuries, see esp. 384–6.

⁶¹ The acts are ptd Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* III, 362–76 (the text is taken from the edition by H. Spelman, *Concilia, decreta, leges, constitutiones, in re ecclesiarum orbis Britannici* I (London, 1639)). For the most recent account of the council, see C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c. 650–c. 850* (London, 1995), pp. 99–152; for a summary of the canons, see *ibid.*, pp. 99–101; for a synopsis, see also Keynes, 'Otho A. i', pp. 136–7.

⁶² See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* III, 368.

⁶⁷ The letter is ptd Tangl, *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, pp. 161–71 (no. 78), and Haddan and Stubbs III, 376–82; for the Latin text with German trans., see *Briefe des Bonifatius, Willibalds Leben des Bonifatius, nebst einigen zeitgenössischen Dokumenten*, ed. R. Rau (Darmstadt, 1968), pp. 238–55 (no. 78). For an English trans., see *The Letters of Saint Boniface*, trans. E. Emerton (New York, 1940), pp. 136–41 (no. 62); for an abbreviated English trans., see C. H. Talbot, *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany* (London, 1954), pp. 129–34.

⁶⁸ From what remains of the manuscript some calculation can be made of the extent and nature of the abbreviations. For the condensation of book III the abbreviator had recourse to the excerpts from the *Regula pastoralis* in Isidore's *Sententiae*: see Keynes, 'Otho A. i', p. 123 and nn. 68 and 69.

⁶⁹ The charter is S 92; for an evaluation, see Keynes, 'Otho A. i', pp. 137–8.

⁷⁰ The letter is ptd Tangl, *Briefe*, pp. 146–55 (no. 73), and Haddan and Stubbs III, 350–6. For an English translation, see *English Historical Documents* I, ed. Whitelock, pp. 816–22 (no. 177). For the letter as part of the original collection of texts (and, perhaps, of Otho A. i itself), see Keynes, 'Otho A. i', pp. 117–19.

⁷¹ Boniface's letter to Ecgbert is ptd Tangl, *Briefe*, pp. 157–8 (no. 75); for an English trans., see *English Historical Documents* I, ed. Whitelock, pp. 823–4 (no. 179).

⁷² See Keynes, 'Otho A. i', pp. 117–19.

⁷³ See *ibid.*, p. 135.

⁷⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 367; this stipulation is repeated in c. 30, p. 375. For the *Regularis concordia*, see *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons c. 18 (pp. 13–14).

⁸⁰ See *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons c. 8 (p. 5).

⁸¹ For Æthelwold's fight, see, for example, *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, c. 10 (p. 7), and c. 69 (p. 69) and 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', ed. Whitelock, pp. 152–4; and see Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English', pp. 131–9.

⁷⁴ There is no recent and comprehensive account of Ælfric's sources for his pastoral letters. The most comprehensive account so far in print (by B. Fehr) is badly in need of revision in light of modern research: *Die Hirtenbriefe Ælfrics, in altenglischer und lateinischer Fassung*, ed. Fehr, pp. xciv–cxxi. For one aspect, the (formerly) so-called *Excerptiones (Ps.-)Ecgberti* and their relationship to Ælfric's letters, see now *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. Cross and Hamer, pp. 17–22.

⁷⁵ See *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 31 (pp. 48–9).

⁷⁶ It may be worthwhile to note in passing that the close study of church canons had already formed part of Theodore's and Hadrian's curriculum at their Canterbury school: see Leiden Glossary, batches nos. i, xxxix and xli in the synopsis by Lapidge, 'School of Theodore', pp. 150–1.

⁷⁷ See Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 307–8, with further references.

⁷⁸ See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* III, 366.

⁸⁵ S 749; see also D. Whitelock, 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt*, ed. J. L. Rosier (The Hague, 1970), pp. 125–36, at 132, n. 31.

⁸² See Keynes, 'The Councils of Clofesho'; for a review of earlier opinions on the location, see *ibid.*, pp. 13–17. For a recent reassignment, see K. Bailey, 'Clofesho Revisited', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 11 (2000), 119–31.

⁸³ See Keynes, 'Clofesho', pp. 30–48; for the designation 'monastic empire', see *ibid.*, pp. 40 and 46.

⁸⁴ The refoundation is reported by Wulfstan of Winchester: see *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 24 (pp. 40–3), and see the historical commentary to this report by Lapidge, *ibid.*, nn. 2–7.

⁸⁶ See *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, c. 5 (p. 3).

⁸⁷ See *HE* I. 27 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 80–2).

⁸⁸ For the dominant influence of Fleury on the *Regularis concordia*, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 192–3, with further references.

⁸⁹ See *Ælfric's Letter*, ed. Jones, p. 110.

⁹⁰ For the reasons for this omission, see the evaluation by Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, pp. 42–51.

⁹¹ The authority of 'beati Gregorii papae sedis apostolicae' is invoked for a second time in the *Regularis Concordia* in prescribing the secular (instead of the monastic) Office on Easter Sunday: see *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, c. 50 (p. 49). This reference is repeated by

⁹² Ptd and trans. Whitelock, 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries'.

⁹³ For the date of Æthelwold's translation of the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* and the composition of EEM, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 233–60. For the date of the *Regularis concordia* (c. 973), see T. Symons, 'Regularis Concordia: History and Derivation', in *Tenth-Century Studies. Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'*, ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), pp. 37–59, at 40–2.

⁹⁴ After the remark that, through Gregory's instructions, Christianity was soon flourishing in England, either one or three folios have been lost in the sole surviving manuscript, London, BL, Cotton Faustina A. x: see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 195 (no. 154), and EEM, ed. Whitelock, p. 145. The text resumes at some point in the early stages of the tenth-century reform.

⁹⁵ Cf. *HE* I. 27 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 78–80).

⁹⁶ Cf. EEM, ed. Whitelock, pp. 144–5.

⁹⁷ The text is ptd by Grisar, 'Die Gregorbiographie des Paulus Diakonus in ihrer ursprünglichen Gestalt, nach italienischen Handschriften', and, with useful identifications of the sources for the individual passages, by Stuhlfath, *Gregor I. der Grosse*, pp. 98–108.

Ælfric, albeit in a slightly different context: see *Ælfric's Letter*, ed. Jones, p. 134 (c. 47), and p. 203, n. 240.

⁹⁸ Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, p. 171.

⁹⁹ EEM, ed. Whitelock, pp. 143–4.

¹⁰⁰ Recall that Bede relegates the episode to an appendix in *HE* II. 1: see above, p. 26, n. 24 and p. 33.

¹⁰¹ For a brief description of the principal manuscript of Cotton-Corpus (BL, Cotton Nero E. i and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9) and a useful listing and identification of its contents, see Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of Cotton-Corpus'. For the influence of Cotton-Corpus on Ælfric, see Zettel, 'Saints' Lives in Old English', and Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 123; see also above, pp. 6–8. Note that the principal manuscript of Cotton-Corpus dates from about three quarters of a century after Ælfric (s. xi^{3/4}). It has been doubted, therefore, that Cotton-Corpus in its fully fledged form was already available to Ælfric: see M. Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester', in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris, 1991), pp. 277–85, at 283, n. 28, and T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075–c. 1125* (Oxford, 1992), p. 70. In any case, the recourse which Æthelwold possibly had to some form of the collection would considerably push back the arrival of the collection in England, and would, moreover, be wholly consonant with the deliberate restocking of English libraries with books from the Continent, and especially from Francia (the original home of Cotton-Corpus), beginning with the reign of King Alfred.

¹⁰⁴ See *CH* II, ed. Godden, no. ix (Gregory), no. x (Cuthbert), and no. xi (Benedict); and see above, pp. 14–15.

¹⁰² The miniatures are superbly reproduced and analysed in Deshaman, *Benedictional of Æthelwold*. See the introductory chapters for the iconographic messages; for the date of the Benedictional, see *ibid.*, pp. 192–214 and 260–1; for Æthelwold's involvement in the production of the Benedictional, see *ibid.*, pp. 252–4 and *passim*. For the shaping influence which the Benedictional appears to have had on Ælfric, see above, pp. 7–20.

¹⁰³ On fol. 1v, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 1.

¹⁰⁷ See the annotated bibliography by Straw, 'Gregory the Great', pp. 56–8, and see Markus, *Gregory the Great*, p. 16 and n. 72; and note that the authenticity of the commentary on I Kings is still a matter of debate: for a recent rejection of Gregory's authorship, see A. de Vogüé, 'L'auteur du Commentaire des Rois attribué à Saint Grégoire: un moine de Cava?', *Revue Bénédictine* 106 (1996), 319–31. See also *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. Dekkers and Gaar, p. 560 (no. 1719).

¹⁰⁵ Ælfric, of course, left the Old Minster in about 987, but neither at Cerne nor at Eynsham will he have found libraries which would have been adequate for his needs. Given this situation, the most economical explanation would, perhaps, be that either he had leave to move freely between Cerne or Eynsham and Winchester to work in the library there, or that he was allowed to borrow books from the Winchester libraries.

¹⁰⁶ See Gneuss, *Handlist*, p. 4. For Gregory's works in Anglo-Saxon England, see also (with due caution) J. D. A. Ogilvy, *Books Known to the English, 597–1066* (Cambridge, MA, 1967), pp. 148–53, and Ogilvy, 'Addenda and Corrigenda', repr. *Old English Newsletter, Subsidia* 11 (Binghamton, NY, 1985), 300 (orig. publ. 1984). In addition to manuscripts, Ogilvy adduces evidence of the knowledge of Gregory's works from quotations in Anglo-Saxon authors.

¹¹⁰ See *HE, Praefatio* (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 2).

¹¹¹ The one exception is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 223, a continental (s. ix^{3/4}) Prudentius manuscript, which has, as an English addition (s. x/xi), a brief excerpt from one of the letters (XI.4); the excerpt, however, is not identified in a rubric, and will have been included for its homiletic character.

¹⁰⁸ I have included in my count of the pre-Conquest manuscripts those dated s. xi² in Gneuss's *Handlist*.

¹⁰⁹ But note that quite a number of these manuscripts are of eighth-century date and preserved in continental libraries, which raises the possibility that they had migrated to the Continent well before the tenth and eleventh centuries.

¹¹⁴ *CH II*, ed. Godden, no. xi.

¹¹² See Dietrich, 'Abt Aelfrik', p. 172, and Förster, *Über die Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae*, p. 8, n.

- ¹¹³ See above, p. 47. For Ælfric's use of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, see Smetana, 'Ælfric and the Early Medieval Homiliary'. For a brief introduction to this homiliary and its sources, see Smetana, 'Paul the Deacon's Patristic Anthology', in *The Old English Homily*, ed. Szarmach and Huppé, pp. 75–97.
- ¹¹⁵ Ælfric, in fact, refers to this presumed knowledge about Gregory at the very outset of his Life: 'for ðan seo foresæde boc nis eow eallum cuð, þeah ðe heo on Englisc awende sy': 'because you are not all familiar with the above-mentioned book [the HE], even though it is translated into English' (CH II, ed. Godden, p. 72).
- ¹²⁴ Such a copy is, in fact, referred to by Pope John VIII when commissioning the Life by John the Deacon: see PL 75, col. 61.
- ¹²⁵ See Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 75, and the references to the sources in the margins of his edition, *ibid.*, pp. 98–108. In his *Historia Francorum* (X. 1), Gregory of Tours has a detailed account of events at Rome in 590 (the year of Gregory's election as pope). This account is based on an eyewitness report, and may therefore be regarded as trustworthy: see Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁸ See above, pp. 43–5; and cf. Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of Cotton-Corpus', p. 136, no. 39.
- ¹¹⁹ Ptd PL 75, cols. 41–60; for the date and place of origin, see Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 88.
- ¹²⁰ Ptd PL 75, cols. 59–242; for the date and circumstances of John the Deacon's Life, see his Preface, *ibid.*, col. 61; for the political and intellectual background which informed John's Life, see C. Leonardi, 'Pienza ecclesiale e santità nella Vita Gregorii di Giovanni Diacono', *Renovatio* 12 (1977), 51–66; and for the innovative narrative mode of the *uita*, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* III (1991), pp. 372–87.
- ¹²¹ For the manuscript, see *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, pp. 63–8; and see above, p. 30, n. 38. For the style of the Whitby Life, see ed. Colgrave, pp. 55–6, and Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II, 261–6. For a recent more positive assessment of its structure and style than has hitherto been conceded to the Whitby Life, see K. Rambridge, 'Doctor noster sanctus: the Northumbrians and Pope Gregory', in *Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, pp. 1–26.
- ¹²² For the opinion that Bede drew on the Whitby Life, see, e.g., Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* II, 389–91, W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800)* (Princeton, NJ, 1988) pp. 264–7; and Thacker, 'Memorializing Gregory', pp. 69–70. The opposite view is held by Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, pp. 68–73, and Colgrave, ed., *Whitby Life*, pp. 56–9 and 61.

- ¹²³ See Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, pp. 86–9.
- ¹¹⁶ See *Le Liber Pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886–92, with vol. III, containing bibliography and indexes by C. Vogel, Paris, 1955–7) I, 312–14.
- ¹¹⁷ See Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 74; the *uita* is ptd twice, by Grisar and Stuhlfath: see above, p. 44, n. 97. For a stylistic evaluation of Paul the Deacon's Life, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II (1988), pp. 149–54.
- ¹²⁸ For Ælfric's representation of Gregory in comparison to his sources, see the brief but suggestive remarks by Godden, 'Experiments in Genre', pp. 275–6. This article contains valuable observations on Ælfric's narrative techniques, with regard to his sources, in the saints' Lives of the *Catholic Homilies*.
- ¹²⁹ For the manuscripts in question and their respective authority, see Stuhlfath, *Gregor der Grosse*, p. 98, n. 1.
- ¹³⁰ See *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 76, line 142 and Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, p. 168, and app. crit., n. 6.
- ¹³¹ See *CH* II, 77, lines 151–2 and Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, p. 168, and app. crit., n. 10.
- ¹³² Recall that Bede has an account of the mission in book I. 23–33, to be followed by his Life of Gregory in book II. 1, and that he has the slave-boys episode (which, of course, occurred before the mission and before Gregory became pope) as an appendix to II. 1. Paul the Deacon places the entire account of the mission to England plus the slave-boys episode (both based on Bede) towards the end of his *uita*: see Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, pp. 171–3.
- ¹²⁶ <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>>; compiled by M. Godden.

¹²⁷ For the sources, see now also: Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, pp. 403–12. The sources had already been identified almost correctly in 1892 by Max Förster (*Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae*, pp. 34–5). What Förster did not realize, however, was that Ælfric did not draw on Gregory of Tours's *Historia Francorum* directly, but only as incorporated in Paulus Diaconus. Paulus Diaconus as – after Bede – the second main source was suggested by Adalbert Stephan, 'Eine weitere Quelle von Ælfric's Gregorhomilie', *Beiblatt zur Anglia* 14 (1903), 315–20, and has been confirmed by Godden, 'The Sources for Ælfric's Homily on St Gregory'; Godden also demonstrated (*ibid.*, pp. 87–8) that Ælfric used the text in the original, not the interpolated, version. Finally, it has been shown by Patrick Zettel, in an unpublished thesis, that the version included in the Cotton-Corpus legendary is very close to Ælfric's exemplar: see P. H. Zettel, 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B.L. MS Cotton Nero E. i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts', (D.Phil. dissertation, Oxford University, 1979), pp. 144 and 184–6 (my reference is from the *Fontes* website). For the general importance of Cotton-Corpus as a source for Ælfric, see above p. 45, n. 101.

¹⁴⁰ See *HE* I. 25–6 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 72–4 and 76).

¹⁴¹ There are only two exceptions: the first letter included, in part, by Ælfric is the letter sent to Augustine in Francia, when, making their way to England, he and his companions were despairing of the feasibility of their undertaking, and had asked permission to return to Rome; whereupon Gregory provided moral support for his missionaries, exhorting them to trust in the Lord and to persist in their dangerous undertaking: cf. *HE* I. 23 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 70). Ælfric, suppressing the intention of Augustine and his companions to abandon the enterprise, presents Gregory's letter as the farewell address delivered by Gregory in person at the departure of the missionaries: cf. *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 77–8. This change is in conformity with Ælfric's emphasis on Gregory the preacher: see below. The second letter translated, in part, by Ælfric is the letter sent by Gregory to Augustine, warning him against sinful pride because of the miracles which Augustine was performing among the English, and which had come to Gregory's notice: cf. *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 79 and *HE* I. 31 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 108–10). That Ælfric should have selected just this letter for inclusion reveals a further interesting facet of his own ambiguous attitude towards miracles (see below, pp. 60–1).

¹⁴² Cf. *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 79: 'and he [*scil.* Augustinus] eac mid gewritum fela ðinga befran, hu him to drohtnigenne wære betwux ðam nighworfenum folce': 'and in letters he asked many questions: how they should live among the newly converted people'.

¹³³ See *HE* II. 1 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 124–6) and Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, pp. 101–2. The latter view was held by Eutychius, and was condemned as heretical by Gregory and by Bede.

¹³⁴ See *HE* II. 1 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 122–4) and (at greater length) Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, pp. 164–5.

¹³⁵ See *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 75.

¹³⁶ Cf. *HE II. 1* (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 126–8) and Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, pp. 169–70.

¹³⁷ *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 80; ‘composed many holy commentaries’.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 73; ‘and he suffered continually from illnesses’; and cf. *HE II. 1* (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 128) and Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, p. 164 and 170.

¹³⁹ The slave-boys episode and Gregory’s sermon to the people of Rome.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 73; ‘according to the Rule under the command of an abbot’.

¹⁴⁷ For these thegns, their public careers and their patronage of monasteries, see Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred*, pp. 191–3 and 209–13, and Keynes, ‘Apocalypse Then’, pp. 261–4. For Æthelmær, see also B. Yorke, ‘Æthelmær: the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century’, in *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures*, ed. K. Barker (Cerne Abbas, 1988), pp. 15–26.

¹⁴⁸ See Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, tables XIII (1–3).

¹⁴⁹ See *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 4; ‘Preface to Genesis’, ed. Crawford, *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, pp. 76–80, at 76; and *CH I*, ed. Clemoes, p. 177, app. crit.

¹⁴³ *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 72.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 73.

¹⁵³ See *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 1.

¹⁵⁴ See Godden, 'Ælfric's Saints' Lives and the Problem of Miracles', pp. 94–7; Godden, 'Ælfric and the Vernacular Prose Tradition', pp. 107–8; and Godden, 'Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 131–42.

¹⁵⁵ For the importance of the litany of the saints in Bishop Æthelwold's *Regularis concordia*, see Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 44–5 and 48.

¹⁵⁰ See *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, chs. 9–16 (pp. 91–101).

¹⁵¹ The sermon is in Paul the Deacon's *Life* (but not in Bede), ed. Grisar, pp. 167–9, where it is taken from Gregory of Tours; it is translated *in toto* by Ælfric (*CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 75–7). Gregory's original sermon is ptd as Appendix IX in the edition of Gregory's letters by D. Norberg, *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum* CCSL 140–140A (Turnhout, 1982), 140 A, 1102–4.

¹⁵² The litanic procession as described by Paulus Diaconus (ed. Grisar, p. 169) is also translated by Ælfric (*CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 77). For a brief assessment of its liturgical form, see Lapidge, *Litanies*, pp. 10–11.

¹⁶⁰ See *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 72 and above, p. 25, n. 52.

¹⁵⁶ The slave-boys episode is surely the anecdote in Bede's *Historia* and Ælfric's *Life* which has attracted most scholarly comment, not always on a very high level. For readers who are less interested in texts and their verifiable political, religious and intellectual implications, but go in for 'fantasies' of various kinds, Kathy Lavezzo's study of Ælfric's Gregory homily, and in particular of the slave-boys episode, may hold some interest (K. Lavezzo, 'Another Country: Ælfric and the Production of English Identity', *New Medieval Literatures* 3 (1999), 67–93). Cf., for example, 'ethnic fantasy' (p. 67), 'national fantasy' (pp. 70 and 91), 'fantasy of English-Christian belonging' (p. 70), 'fantasy of Christian national belonging' (p. 77), "'racial" fantasy' (p. 86), 'English fantasy' (p. 91, *sim.* p. 77), etc. On a more scholarly level, e.g. Allen Frantzen, views the episode through the eyes of John Bale (1495–1563, the protestant zealot and one of the first 'antiquaries'), who detected in it unmistakable homosexual innuendos, characterizing the Roman clergy in its state of immorality, caused by enforced celibacy (A. J. Frantzen, 'Bede and Bawdy Bale. Gregory the Great, Angels and the "Angli"', in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. A. J. Frantzen and J. D. Niles (Gainesville, FL, 1997), pp. 17–39.) For Nicholas Howe the episode is of value in contributing a popular element to the Anglo-Saxons constructing their myth of origin (N. Howe, *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven, CT, 1989), pp. 118–21). I deliberately refrain here from entering the discussion of whether this episode and Bede's account of the mission at large might have had any impact on forming an English national identity.

¹⁵⁷ See Whitelock, 'Old English Bede', pp. 58–9, 79, n. 10, and 80, n. 18, and Godden, 'Ælfric's Homily on St Gregory', pp. 85–6 and n. 32.

¹⁵⁸ The passage in question is *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 74–5 and Old English Bede (ed. Miller, *Old English Version*) I, 96–8.

¹⁵⁹ The argument is not clinched by Malcolm Godden's recent and summary reaffirmation of a 'substantial agreement in wording and content such as is not found in any other use of Bede by Ælfric': *The Translations of Alfred*, p. 14, n. 20.

¹⁶¹ For the abbreviations and the (post-Ælfrician) manuscripts in which they are preserved, see Lapidge in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. cxlvii–cl (with further references); and especially for BNF, lat. 5362, Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 555–7. The first manuscript whose importance in this respect was discovered was Boulogne-sur-Mer 63: see E. M. Raynes, 'MS Boulogne-sur-Mer and Ælfric', *Medium Aevum* 26 (1957), 65–73. See also below, pp. 122 and 175.

¹⁶² But note that – unlike Ælfric – the Old English Bede does not omit the *Libellus responsionum* in *HE* I. 27.

¹⁶³ Cf. *Old English Version*, ed. Miller I, 56 and *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 77–8; and see above, p. 54, n. 141.

¹⁶⁴ Cf. *HE* II. 1 and *Old English Version*, ed. Miller I, 94–8.

¹⁷⁰ See above, p. 44, n. 141. For a balanced appraisal of Gregory's attitude to miracles in the context of missionary activities, see I. Wood, 'The Mission of Augustine of Canterbury to the English', *Speculum* 69 (1994), 1–17, at 13–15. For a bibliography on Gregory's attitude to miracles in general, see below, p. 134, n. 29.

¹⁶⁵ *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 80; 'and he performed many miracles in his life'.

¹⁶⁶ Paul the Deacon implicitly denies that Gregory performed miracles when he states that he might well have performed miracles had the occasion arisen: see Paulus Diaconus, *Vita*, ed. Grisar, p. 173.

¹⁶⁸ See *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 440–70 (no. xxi) and the recent ed. by Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 575–609: Swithun's miracles are almost the sole contents of this *vita*, see below, pp. 176–92.

¹⁶⁹ See *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 345–53 (no. xxi); and see Godden, 'Ælfric and the Problem of Miracles', pp. 83–4.

¹⁶⁷ See Godden, 'Ælfric and the Problem of Miracles', pp. 83–94.

- ¹⁷⁵ There are two manuscripts of John the Deacon's *Life of English origin* and pre-Conquest date: see Gneuss, *Handlist* nos. 456 and 570. For the availability of the Latin Lives of Gregory in Anglo-Saxon England and their use by Anglo-Saxon authors, see now also Whatley *et al.*, 'Acta Sanctorum' pp. 240–4.
- ¹⁷⁶ See above, p. 50. The *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* (compiled for *CH* II, no. xv by M. Godden) list as the source for the passage in question (with some hesitation) Paschasius Radbertus (*fl.* s. ix¹), *De corpore et sanguine Domini* (ed. B. Paulus, CCCM 16 (Turnhout, 1969), pp. 87–8, lines 44–70). For this source, see also Godden, *CH, Commentary*, p. 495. Paschasius's narrative is based (with many verbatim borrowings) on the interpolated version of Paul the Deacon's *Life* (cf. *De corpore*, pp. 87–8 and *apparatus fontium*). Since Ælfric drastically abbreviates the miracle as found in the Latin texts, it is difficult to estimate which of the texts (the Whitby *Life*, *Paulus interpolatus* or Paschasius Radbertus) was his actual source, if he drew on a written source. (He relates in six lines what takes twenty-seven lines in Paschasius and is of similar length in *Paulus interpolatus* and the Whitby *Life*.) However, what slender evidence may be extracted from Ælfric's brief narrative would seem to point to the Whitby *Life* as the text which is closest to Ælfric: the bread at the Eucharist is miraculously transformed into a *part* of a bloody finger in Ælfric ('anes fingres lið eal geblogod', p. 155), the Whitby *Life* ('digituli auricularis particulam sanguinenti', p. 106) and *Paulus interpolatus* ('partem digiti auricularis sanguine cruentatam', PL 75, col. 53). Paschasius Radbertus refers to a whole finger ('in modum digiti auricularis sanguine superfusam', p. 87), and John the Deacon does not specify into which part of the body the bread is transformed ('carnem factam reperit', PL 75, col. 103). Furthermore, according to Ælfric, this miracle was visible only to Gregory himself and the unbelieving woman: 'him bam wearð ætewod' (p. 155). This is closest to the phrasing in the Whitby *Life*: 'sanctus uir inuenit super altare . . . Ad quod mirabile spectaculum uocauit incredulam, quo iam uiso satis obstupuit' ('the saint found . . . on the altar . . . He called the unbelieving woman to behold the marvelous sight and when she saw it she was utterly dumbfounded'; pp. 106–7). In *Paulus interpolatus* and Paschasius Radbertus the whole congregation eyewitnesses this miracle: 'ad altare cunctis cernentibus . . . pallam reuelat, et uniuerso populo ipsaque muliere contuente . . .' (*Paulus interpolatus*, col. 53); and cf.: 'mox cernentibus cunctis pallam reuoluit altaris' (Paschasius Radbertus, p. 87).
- ¹⁷⁷ Cf. *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 72: 'Manega halige bec cyðað his drohtnunge and his halige lif.
- ¹⁷⁸ 'Sermo de sacrificio in die Pascae', *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 150–60 (no. xv). Famous, because it was the first Old English text ever to be printed, in Archbishop Matthew Parker's *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* (London, 1566 or 1567), and because it was the crucial text for the opinion held by Anglo-Saxonists in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that Ælfric's doctrine of the symbolic character of wine and bread in the Eucharist was in accordance with their own, Protestant, doctrine (which rejected the Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation). Cf., e.g., T. H. Leinbaugh, 'Ælfric's *Sermo de Sacrificio in Die Pascae*: Anglican Polemic in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Anglo-Saxon Scholarship. The First Three Centuries*, ed. C. T. Berkhout and M. McC. Gatch (Boston, MA, 1982), 51–68.

¹⁷³ Cf. *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 155.

¹⁷⁴ See *Whitby Life*, ed. Colgrave, ch. 20 (p. 106), PL 75, cols. 52–3 (*Paulus interpolatus*), and *ibid.*, col. 103 (John the Deacon). For a discussion of the miracle in Ælfric's Easter homily in relation to its possible sources, see Godden, 'Ælfric's Homily on St Gregory', p. 88. Godden is of the opinion that none of the three Lives was Ælfric's direct source but that he, perhaps, drew on oral tradition or an extract from one of the Lives. See also n. 176 below.

¹⁷¹ *CH II*, ed. Godden, pp. 92–109 (no. xi); see below, p. 141.

¹⁷⁸ For Ælflæd of Whitby (680–714), see P. Hunter Blair, 'Whitby as a Centre of Learning in the Seventh Century', in *Language and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 3–32, at 14, and Lapidge, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, p. 6; for her contact with Theodore, see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, p. 136.

⁴ See *CH II*, ed. Godden, no. xxi, pp. 199–203. Ælfric, in fact, assigns the text to the Major Litanies ('in letania maiore', *ibid.*, p. 190, which would be 25 April), but it is clear from the context that the Minor Litanies are in question, that is, the three 'Rogation Days' before Ascension Day: see Lapidge, 'Ælfric's *Sanctorale*', p. 127, n. 10. The vision of Drihtelm is (unlike the immediately preceding vision of the Irish *peregrinus* Fursey) not listed by Whatley.

⁵ Cf. Whatley, 'Introduction', p. 7.

⁶ The following saints and feasts are in question. Two texts each: Andrew, Invention of the Cross, James the Greater, John the Baptist, John the Evangelist, Purification of the Virgin Mary, Peter and Paul, Seven Sleepers, Stephen (both texts by Ælfric). Three texts each: Martin (two by Ælfric), Nativity of the Virgin Mary, Michael. Four texts: Assumption of the Virgin Mary (two by Ælfric).

¹ See Whatley, 'An Introduction to the Study of Old English Prose Hagiography: Sources and Resources', pp. 5–7. See also Whatley's annotated lists: 'Late Old English Hagiography, c. 950–1150', pp. 455–72.

² Note: if a piece contains the Lives or hagiographical material pertaining to more than one saint (as, for example, Ælfric's Life of St Swithun (*Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat, no. xxi, pp. 440–73), which contains in its latter part (pp. 470–3) material pertaining to Macarius), it is counted as two items in Whatley's list (and hence in my statistics). Also note: pieces dealing with saints who are usually commemorated jointly on the same day are counted as one item only in Whatley's list and my statistics, for example, the piece on Alexander, Eventius and Theodolus (*CH II*, ed. Godden, no. xviii, pp. 176–9).

³ Thirteen *uitae* would be in question if London, Lambeth Palace 427, fol. 211 contains a fragmentary text of a Life of St Seaxburga: see Whatley, 'Introduction', p. 7 and p. 23, n. 31. See also below, p. 208. For a recent survey of the non-Ælfrician Lives of English saints, see J. Roberts, 'The English Saints Remembered in Old English Anonymous Homilies', in *Old English Prose*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 433–61. For a complete inventory of saints of Anglo-Saxon extraction who were certainly or arguably commemorated in pre-Conquest English churches, see now J. Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *Local Saints*, ed. Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 495–565.

¹⁹ See VCP, ed. Colgrave, chs. 14 (p. 102), 19 (p. 222) and 20 (p. 222) for Bede pointing out parallels between miracles performed by St Benedict and those ascribed to St Cuthbert. In ch. 19 (p. 222), Bede remarks also on a parallel to one of St Antony's miracles. For further such parallels and verbal echos, see Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', pp. 136–42; and Stancliffe, 'Cuthbert and the Polarity between Pastor and Solitary', pp. 26–8 and 43–4. Significantly, the Preface to VCA is taken verbatim from the *Vita S. Martini* by Sulpicius Severus: see *Two Lives*, ed. Colgrave, p. 62.

²⁰ See Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', pp. 148–9, Thacker, 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', pp. 107–12, 115–17 and 121–2, and Rollason, 'Hagiography and Politics in Early Northumbria', p. 107. On the political dimension of Cuthbert's early cult, see also D. P. Kirby, 'The Genesis of a Cult: Cuthbert of Farne and Ecclesiastical Politics in Northumbria in the Late Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 46 (1995), 383–97, and, briefly, D. A. Bullough, 'Hagiography as Patriotism: Alcuin's "York Poem" and the Early Northumbrian "Vitae Sanctorum"', in *Hagiographie. Cultures et Sociétés. IV^e–XII^e Siècles*. Actes du Colloque organisé à Nanterre et à Paris (2–5 mai 1979), Études Augustiniennes (Paris, 1981), pp. 339–59, at 344–8. For an attempt to evaluate the two prose Lives in terms of the 'collective memory' of the Melrose and Lindisfarne communities, see C. Cubitt, 'Memory and Narrative in the Cult of Early Anglo-Saxon Saints', in *The Uses of the Past in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Y. Hen and M. Innes (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 29–66, at 39–50.

¹² Ed. Jaeger, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*. No Modern English translation of VCM exists in print. I am very grateful to Michael Lapidge for letting me use and quote from his translation of VCM, prepared for his forthcoming edition of Bede's Latin poetry. For the date of the first recension of VCM, see Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical *Vita S. Cuthberti*', p. 340.

¹³ For the date, see Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical *Vita*', p. 347.

¹⁴ For the term and the relationship between the two recensions of VCM, see *ibid.*, pp. 339–47, and *idem*, 'Prolegomena to an Edition of Bede's Metrical *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*', pp. 139–51.

¹⁵ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, pp. 141–307. For a trans., see also n. 10 above.

¹⁶ See *HE* IV.26[24]–32[30] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 426–49).

¹⁷ The chapters in question are IV.31[29] and 32[30] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 444–9). For their inclusion in manuscripts of VCP, see Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert* pp. 20–39.

¹⁸ For the importance of these conventions in the composition of a saint's Life, see, briefly, Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 253 and 261.

⁷ For the sudden flowering of verse *contrafacta* of existing prose Lives in late-tenth-century England, see Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography'; and see below pp. 122–4. Among the Latin prose Lives produced during that period and in the early eleventh century would be: Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, Abbo of Fleury's *Passio S. Edmundi*, Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and Ælfric's epitome of it, the earliest *uita* of St Dunstan (by one 'B', presumably of English extraction), and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita S. Oswaldi* and *Vita S. Ecgwini*, to name but a few.

⁸ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*.

⁹ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*; for the date, see *ibid.*, p. x.

¹⁰ Both texts are ed. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* I, 364–87 (*Historia abbatum*) and I, 388–423 (*Vita Ceolfridi*); trans. Farmer, in *The Age of Bede*, trans. Webb and Farmer, pp. 187–210 and 213–29. For the dates of both Lives, see *ibid.*, p. 28; but note that the earlier date for Bede's *Historia abbatum* in relation to the anonymous *uita*, which is suggested there, is not generally accepted. Most scholars believe that Bede drew on the anonymous Life: see e.g. J. McClure, 'Bede and the Life of Ceolfrid', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 71–84, at 72, Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II (1988), 284–9, and I. Wood, *The Most Holy Abbot Ceolfrid*, Jarrow Lecture 1995, *passim*. McClure's hypothesis that the anonymous *uita* is in fact an earlier work by Bede (pp. 72–3 and *passim*) does, however, not appear to have gained widespread recognition: see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II, pp. 287–9 and Wood, *Abbot Ceolfrid*, pp. 18–19.

¹¹ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, pp. 59–139; for the date, see *ibid.*, p. 13; for a trans., see also n. 10 above.

²² See Hohler, 'The Durham Services in Honour of St. Cuthbert', p. 158; Thacker, 'Bede's Ideal', pp. 150–1; Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', p. 393; and Orchard, 'A Note on the Masses for St Cuthbert', pp. 86–7.

- ²³ The manuscript is now Göttingen, University Library, Cod. theol. 231; it has been ptd by G. Richter and A. Schönfelder, *Sacramentarium Fuldense saeculi x* (Fulda, 1912; repr. HBS 101 (London, 1972)); the mass is at p. 31 (no. 41). Scholarly attention was already drawn to this mass set by Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*, p. 146, n. 3, who also pointed out that the same mass appeared in eleventh-century English sacramentaries. See also Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 158 and Bonner 'Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', p. 393.
- ²⁴ The pertinent letters, all asking for copies of Bede's works are: *Die Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Tangl, no. 75 (dated 746–7): Boniface to Archbishop Ecgbert of York; no. 76 (dated 746–7): Boniface to Abbot Hwætberht of Wearmouth–Jarrow; no. 125 (dated c. 767): Lul to Archbishop Æthelberht of York. In a letter to Lul (dated 763–4; Tangl, no. 116) Cuthbert, Abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow reports that he has sent Bede's two Lives of St Cuthbert, according to Lul's request. See also Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 140. For the strain which the ever-increasing demand for Bede's works put on the Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium, see M. B. Parkes, 'The Scriptorium of Wearmouth–Jarrow', in his *Scribes, Scripts and Readers* (London, 1991), pp. 93–120 (orig. The Jarrow Lecture, 1982).
- ²⁵ For a recent assemblage of the liturgical evidence for a cult of Cuthbert in Carolingian Europe, see Bullough, 'A Neglected Early-Ninth-Century Manuscript of the Lindisfarne *Vita S. Cuthberti*', pp. 122–31.
- ²⁶ See Orchard, 'Masses for St Cuthbert', p. 87; cf., however, the reservations by Bullough, 'A Neglected Manuscript', pp. 126–7.
- ²⁷ Ed. and trans. Godman, *Alcuin: the Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, lines 646–750. Alcuin expressly acknowledges his debt to Bede's works, pointing out that, but for them, he would have enlarged on his subject (lines 741–50).
- ²⁸ On Hrabanus Maurus, see Kottje in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* V, cols. 144–7, and Banniard, in *Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. A. Vauchez with B. Dobson and M. Lapidge, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2000) II, 1209.
- ²⁹ See VCA, ed. Colgrave, ch. 16 (pp. 13–16) and VCP, ed. Colgrave, ch. 44 (pp. 296–8); see also Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 61.
- ³⁰ Paris, BNF, lat. 9433; ed. Y. Hen, *The Sacramentary of Echternach*, HBS 110 (London, 1997); for the date and place of origin, see *ibid.*, pp. 18–23.
- ³¹ On Willibrord, see Mostert, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, p. 478; and Levison, *England and the Continent*, pp. 60–5.

²⁹ Now Paris, BNF, lat. 10837; ed. (with facsimile), Wilson, *The Calendar of St Willibrord*, fol. 35v and p. 5. On the personal character of Willibrord's calendar, see Levison, *England and the Continent*, p. 65, and Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life', p. 247. It is also noteworthy that Cuthbert's *Depositio* is commemorated by an entry in the earliest extant version of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum*, known as the 'Epternacensis' or Echternach recension. A copy of this recension forms the first part (fols. 2–33) of Paris, BNF, lat. 10837. Although the Martyrology in BNF lat. 10837 was written at Echternach by the (English or, possibly, Irish) scribe Laurentius, who was a member of Willibrord's household, the text was copied from a Northumbrian exemplar, as has long been noted: see (with further bibliography) Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 163–4, and P. Ó Riain, 'A Northumbrian Phase in the Formation of the Hieronymian Martyrology. The Evidence of the Martyrology of Tallaght', *Analecta Bollandiana* 120 (2002), 311–63, *passim*, and see his 'provisional stemma', at 361. The textual history of the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum* is excruciatingly intricate, but here the important point simply is that Cuthbert is commemorated in two texts associated with Willibrord – his personal calendar and the martyrology used at Echternach – and that therefore we may assume that Cuthbert was held in veneration in Willibrord's household. (There is an extended – not always impartially conducted – discussion about a Northumbrian versus an Irish background to the Echternach scriptorium: see, e.g., D. Ó Cróinín, 'Rath Melsigi, Willibrord and the Earliest Echternach Manuscripts', *Peritia* 3 (1984), 17–49, and the reply by R. Bruce-Mitford, 'The Durham–Echternach Calligrapher', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 175–88.) For bibliography on BNF lat. 10837 see B. Ebersperger, *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken*, Anglistische Forschungen 261 (Heidelberg, 1999), pp. 185–6.

³⁶ Cf. Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Calendar', pp. 349–55 and *passim*.

³² The other two are the 'Metrical Calendar of Hampson', composed in the early tenth century; on which, see below, p. 80; and the 'Metrical Calendar of Ramsey', composed in the late tenth century; ptd and discussed by Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey', pp. 365–83.

³³ In their fully fledged form (such as presented in the Metrical Calendar of Hampson) metrical calendars consisted of 365 hexameters, commemorating, in one verse for each day of the year, the saint or church feast for the day in question. For their function – mnemonic rather than liturgical – see Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Calendar', p. 343, and Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life', pp. 248–50.

³⁴ MCY has been ptd and discussed by A. Wilmart, 'Un témoin anglo-saxon du calendrier métrique d'York', *Revue Bénédictine* 46 (1934), 41–69.

³⁵ For a recent discussion of MCY and the numerous continental manuscripts in which it is transmitted in one form or another, see Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Calendar', pp. 344–59; cf. *ibid.*, p. 349 for a tentative attribution to Alcuin's circle at York. D. Bullough dates the composition of MCY a generation earlier, during Alcuin's schooldays at York: 'York, Bede's Calendar and a Pre-Bedan English Martyrology', *Analecta Bollandiana* 121 (2003), 329–55, at 348.

⁴² Listed by Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition', pp. 129–30 and discussed, pp. 142–62. This list and discussion now supersedes the earlier one by Jaager, *Bede's metrische Vita*, pp. 24–44.

³⁷ Seven of these are described (briefly) by Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*, pp. 17–20; for the eighth (an early-ninth-century manuscript, written at Salzburg, now Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 15817), see Bullough, 'A Neglected Manuscript', pp. 105–37; see *ibid.*, pp. 131–7, for a collation of this manuscript with Colgrave's text.

³⁸ See Gneuss, *Handlist*, no. 781, and the remarks, *ibid.* The list of books donated by Abbot Sæwold to St Vaast has been ptd and discussed by Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 55–62.

³⁹ See Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical Vita', pp. 340–7, and Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition of Bede's Metrical Vita Sancti Cuthberti', pp. 139–42.

⁴⁰ Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical Vita', p. 346.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, p. 347 and nn. 31 and 32.

⁴³ The fragments in question are: Budapest, National Széchenyi Library, Cod. Lat. 441, fols. 1–2 + Budapest, University Library, fragm. lat. 1 + Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm-Nachlass, Konvolut 132,1. Recently, a further substantial fragment of this manuscript has come to light: Munich, Stadtarchiv, Historischer Verein Oberbayern, 733/16; for a comprehensive discussion of the *membra disiecta*, see now H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, 'The Earliest Manuscript of Bede's Metrical Vita S. Cudberti', ASE 32 (2003), 43–54; for the date and origin, see *ibid.*, pp. 46–8.

⁴⁴ Colgrave, *Two Lives*, lists thirty-eight manuscripts and fragments and, in addition, twenty-eight manuscripts itemized in manuscript catalogues and booklists, but no longer extant.

⁴⁵ For a discussion of the textual relationships of the manuscripts, see Colgrave, *Two Lives*, pp. 45–50. For a survey of the important role which continental manuscripts play in the transmission of all of Bede's writings, see Lapidge, 'Latin Learning in Ninth-Century England', pp. 422–5.

⁴⁸ It should be noted in this connection that Boniface was in epistolary contact also with southern ecclesiastical centres in order to commission copies of other texts which he needed for his missionary work: see the brief summary of such requests by M. Lapidge, 'Artistic and Literary Patronage in Anglo-Saxon England', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, pp. 37–91, at 75–6. It is interesting that Boniface did not request copies of Bede's works from such southern centres.

⁴⁶ The bibliography on Corpus 183 is vast. For a comprehensive description, bibliography and reproduction of a substantial number of pages, see Budny, *Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge* I, 161–85, and II, pls. IV and 110–52. The classic study of the manuscript in the context of King Æthelstan's donations of books to ecclesiastical centres is Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 180–5. For a dissenting opinion to the long-established view that Corpus 183 was given by King Æthelstan to Chester-le-Street, see D. Rollason, 'St Cuthbert and Wessex: the Evidence of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 413–24.

⁴⁷ Cf. Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 158, and Bonner, 'Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', p. 393.

⁵⁵ See *William of Malmesbury, Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. Mynors *et al.* I, 182 (ii.121.2–3), and *William of Malmesbury, De gestis pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Hamilton, pp. 199 (§ 92) and 269 (§ 130). For some of the differences in comparison with *HSC*, see *Gesta regum* II, 94–5.

⁵⁶ See *Gesta pontificum*, p. 199 (§ 92).

⁵⁸ For the early circulation of this story, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 197–202.

⁵⁹ See *The Annals of St Neots*, ed. Dumville and Lapidge, pp. 126–8 (§ 13) and p. cv.

⁶⁰ See Lapidge in *Annals of St Neots*, p. cv. The passage in the Life of St Neot would thus attest to the circulation of the Cuthbert–Alfred episode in the South in the mid-eleventh century. For the date and origin of the *Vita*, see Lapidge, *Annals of St Neots*, pp. xcvi and cix–cxii.

St Cuthbert', *EHR* 271 (1954), 177–99. For an evaluation of the representation of Cuthbert in the *HSC*, see T. Johnson South, 'Changing Images of Sainthood: St. Cuthbert in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*', in *Saints*, ed. Sticca, pp. 81–94.

⁵¹ See *HSC*, ed. Arnold, p. 205 (§ 16); ed. Johnson South, p. 14 (ch. 16).

⁵² This blunder was already noticed by Arnold (ed., p. 205 note a). For a recent assertion that, in spite of this blunder, the Cuthbert–Alfred episode *is* to be dated to the mid-tenth century, see L. Simpson, ‘The King Alfred/St Cuthbert Episode in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*: its Significance for Mid-Tenth-Century English History’, in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 397–411. Her opinion is endorsed by Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 144–52.

⁵³ Ptd Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* I, 229–61, at 230–4.

⁵⁴ Ed. and trans. D. Rollason, *Symeon of Durham, Libellus de Exordio atque Procursu istius, hoc est Dunhelmensis, Ecclesie* (Oxford, 2000). (The older edition is Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* I, 1–135; in this edition the text bears the editorial title *Historia Dunelmensis ecclesiae*.) For the HSC drawn on by the *Libellus de Exordio*, cf., e.g. (ed. Rollason), pp. 134, 136 and 140.

⁴⁹ It is ptd by Arnold, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia* I, 196–214; the Cuthbert–Alfred episode is at 204–7 (§§ 14–19). A new edition and translation of the HSC is now available: Johnson South, *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*; for the Cuthbert–Alfred episode, see chs. 15–18 (pp. 55–8: text; and 90–4: commentary). For an early (positive) evaluation of the factual and documentary evidence as presented in the HSC, see E. Craster, ‘The Patrimony of

⁵⁰ See Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 21 (B 220); and see now the extended discussion by Johnson South, *Historia*, pp. 25–36.

⁶² For Asser’s use of the Chronicle, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 55 and 114; for Byrhtferth drawing on Asser, see Lapidge, ‘Byrhtferth and the Early Sections’, p. 341, and *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, p. xxx. For Byrhtferth’s possible use of a now lost version of the Chronicle, see Hunter Blair, ‘Some Observations’, pp. 99–104. Note that Asser himself does not have the Cuthbert–Alfred episode.

⁶¹ The sections in question are ptd by Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* II, 3–91 (§§ 1–80). For the definitive ascription to Byrhtferth, see Lapidge, ‘Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham’; it is based on preliminary observations made by Hunter Blair, ‘Some Observations on the *Historia Regum* Attributed to Symeon of Durham’.

⁵⁷ See *Gesta regum* I, 182 (ii. 121.2).

⁶³ Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* II, 83.

⁶⁷ For the unfolding success story of Alfred's cult, see S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *ASE* 28 (1999), 225–356; for the earliest stages, up to the first half of the twelfth century, see *ibid.*, pp. 227–31. For the assumption that the Cuthbert–Alfred episode originated in the North, see D. P. Kirby, 'Notes on the Saxon Bishops of Sherborne', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 87 (1966 for 1965), 213–22, at 219–22.

⁶⁴ See the references in Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* II, 83.

⁶⁵ Interestingly, the episode as related by Byrhtferth is adopted almost verbatim into the later (twelfth-century) part of the *Historia regum*: see Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* II, 111.

⁶⁶ A testimony to late-tenth-century knowledge of a written form of the *HSC* in the South might be preserved in Paris, BNF, lat. 5362 (c. 1100), which contains a chapter from *HSC* (though not the Cuthbert–Alfred episode), and is arguably a copy of a hagiographical commonplace book compiled by Ælfric; see below, p. 122, n. 210.

⁷⁰ On this manuscript, see Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition', pp. 155–7.

⁷¹ See above, p. 68.

⁷² See *HE*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xlvi–lxi, and, briefly, Lapidge, 'Latin Learning', p. 424.

⁷³ For the much abbreviated version of the chapters relating to Pope Gregory, see above, p. 34. For the selective translation technique in the Old English Bede in general, see Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', pp. 61–2 and *passim*. For the translation (similarly unabridged) of Bede's chapter on St Æthelthryth in the Old English Bede, see below, p. 202.

⁶⁸ For the date, see Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 26–8; for a list of continental books, now preserved in British libraries, which may have been imported to England in connection with Alfred's reform programme, see *ibid.*, p. 214, n. 24.

⁶⁹ MCH is ptd P. McGurk, 'The Metrical Calendar of Hampson', *Analecta Bollandiana* 104 (1986), 79–125; for the origin and the manuscripts of the text, see *ibid.*, pp. 79–89, and Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Calendar', pp. 359–65. Edmund Bishop was the first to link the calendar behind MCH with Grimbald: *Liturgica Historica* (Oxford, 1918), p. 256. For possible associations of MCH with Grimbald, see further Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss', pp. 112–14.

- ⁷⁵ See *HE* IV.28[26], IV.30[28] and IV.31[29] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 434, 444 and 446); and *Old English Bede*, ed. Miller I.2, pp. 360, 370 and 380.
- ⁷⁶ See *HE*, *Praefatio* (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 6), and *OE Bede*, ed. Miller I.1, p. 4.
- ⁷⁴ See Asser's '*Life of King Alfred*', ed. Stevenson, pp. 20–2 (chs. 23–5); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 74–6.
- ⁷⁹ For an excellent description of what is left and a reconstruction of the book as far as this is still possible with the help of various transcripts made before the Cotton fire, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 170–9.
- ⁸⁰ For discussion, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 172–3; for a facsimile of what is left from 1v, see *ibid.*, pl. VIII.
- ⁸¹ For discussion and references, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 173–4.
- ⁷⁷ See Lapidge, 'Schools, Learning and Literature in Tenth-Century England', pp. 12–16 and Gretsch, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss', pp. 107–19.

⁷⁸ See above, p. 75, and n. 46.

- ⁸³ For a reproduction see, for example, Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pl. IX, Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066*, pl. 29, and Budny, *Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College II*, pl. IV.
- ⁸⁴ This glossary comprises fifty-one lemmata, nineteen of them with English interpretations. The Old English glosses are ptd H. D. Meritt, *Old English Glosses* (New York, 1945), p. 16 (no. 8). The Latin glosses are unprinted.
- ⁸² For a discussion of this manuscript and the time limits for its presentation to Chester-le-Street, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 180–5. For its connection with Æthelstan and other manuscripts testifying to Æthelstan's court culture, see also Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 352–9.
- ⁸⁸ The poem is ptd, trans. and discussed by M. Lapidge, 'Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Æthelstan', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, pp. 49–86, at 81–5 [orig. pub. *ASE* 9 (1981)].

- ⁸⁹ On Æthelstan as a collector of relics, see J. A. Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), pp. 71–80; see also Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, pp. 160–3, and Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 143–7, who, interestingly, suggests (p. 144) King Alfred's interest in relics, attested by Asser (ch. 104), as a possible source for Æthelstan's enthusiasm for relics.
- ⁸⁵ See Bonner, 'St Cuthbert at Chester-le-Street', p. 395, and E. Cambridge, 'Why did the Community of St Cuthbert Settle at Chester-le-Street?', in *St Cuthbert*, ed. Bonner *et al.*, pp. 367–95, at 377.
- ⁸⁶ For an excellent survey of the period, see Keynes, 'England, c. 900–1016', pp. 472–9; see also F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971), pp. 356–67, and P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest. A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989), pp. 43–50.
- ⁸⁷ The list of precious gifts which Æthelstan is said to have donated to Cuthbert's community is preserved in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* I, 211 (§ 26); ed. Johnson South, p. 65 (ch. 26). For its sources, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 177–8; for the suggestion that not all the items in the list were given to the community by Æthelstan himself but some, possibly, by his successors Edmund and Eadred, see *ibid.*, p. 178. Note that King Edmund, according to the *HSC*, visited Cuthbert's shrine in 945 (ed. Arnold, *Symeonis Opera* I, 212 (§ 28); ed. Johnson South, p. 67 (ch. 28)). The booklist as preserved in the *HSC* is ptd and discussed by Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', pp. 49–50.
- ⁹⁵ For the textual relationships of these manuscripts and their affiliation with Corpus 183, see Sole, 'Cuthbert Liturgica', pp. 106–10. Note that here as elsewhere, unless otherwise stated, indications of date and origin of manuscripts are taken from Gneuss, *Handlist*.

⁹⁶ See above, p. 85, n. 90.

- ⁹¹ Note that the text of the liturgical pieces is not distinguished by any sort of display script or layout which might account for sending back to Chester-le-Street their own Cuthbert liturgy.
- ⁹² See Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 157, who thinks that mass and Office might have been composed for the court chapel of either Edward the Elder or Æthelstan. The ascription to the South is confirmed by Orchard ('Masses for St Cuthbert', pp. 90–1) for the mass, and by Sole ('Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert Liturgica', pp. 105–10, and *passim*) for the Office. For a sceptical view concerning the Wessex origin of the liturgical pieces, see D. N. Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 106, n. 64.

⁹³ Note that Hohler ('The Durham Services', p. 157) thought that the mass in Corpus 183 had not been adopted into Durham use, while Orchard ('Masses for St Cuthbert', pp. 90–1) is of the opinion that it was used there already in the tenth century, as the mass for the translation.

⁹⁴ See Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 157, and Sole, 'Cuthbert Liturgica', p. 106.

⁹⁰ The standard, though rather summary, treatment of the liturgical commemoration of Cuthbert is Hohler, 'The Durham Services', pp. 155–9. He prints the masses (pp. 163–9) and the Office (pp. 169–75) in use in Durham from a fourteenth- and thirteenth-century manuscript respectively. The mass sets as ptd by Hohler are different from the mass in Corpus 183, and accordingly, this manuscript is not collated. For the Office, however, Corpus 183 has been collated. More recently, the various mass sets for St Cuthbert have been discussed by Orchard, 'Masses for St Cuthbert', who also prints the mass from Corpus 183 (at pp. 96–7). The Office has recently been discussed by L. M. Sole and ptd from London, BL, Harley 1117 (s. x/xi) with full collation of Corpus 183 and Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 204 (s. xiⁱⁿ): 'Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert Liturgica' (the text of the Office is at 140–4). Note in passing that Sole draws attention to additions to Corpus 183 made in Durham in s. x², thereby confuting Rollason's argument that the manuscript was not in Durham in the tenth century and probably not before the Norman Conquest: see above, p. 75, n. 46.

'Astonishingly, when he [*i.e.* Cuthbert] had emerged from here [*i.e.* the waves] and prayed on his knees / his stiff limbs were warmed up again by animals from the sea.' This refers to ch. 10 VCP (= ch. 8 VCM and II.3 VCA).

⁹⁹ Cf., for example, the antiphon as ptd by Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 171, sect. 64:

¹⁰⁰ Cf., e.g., Hohler, 'The Durham Services', pp. 170–1, sect. 62–8, where an antiphon referring to ch. 3 VCP is followed by three antiphons referring to ch. 10 VCP, which, in turn, are followed by a responsory referring to ch. 4 VCP.

¹⁰¹ Col. 1 specifies the liturgical form, antiphon (A) or responsory (R) and, by a Roman numeral, the Nocturn in which it was used; col. 2 gives the section number as assigned to the piece in question in Hohler's edition (based on a thirteenth-century manuscript); and col. 3 gives the relevant chapter number in VCP (for the parts referred to in the Office, the sequence of events in VCM is identical with that of VCP).

⁹⁷ This much was already noted by Hohler, who stated summarily that in post-Conquest times the Office was adapted to monastic use 'by the composition of extra antiphons etc.': see 'The Durham Services', p. 157 and n. 4. Cf., however, Sole ('Cuthbert Liturgica', p. 111), who seems to assume that the Office was intended for monastic use.

⁹⁸ See Harper, *Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy*, pp. 87–8 and 91–2, and Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office*, pp. 54–5. For a detailed description of the entire Office of Matins as it was performed in English monasteries during the Middle Ages, see J. B. L. Tolhurst, *Introduction to the English Monastic Breviaries*, HBS 80 (London, 1942), pp. 178–95.

¹⁰² Hohler, p. 172, sect. 89.

¹⁰³ The second miracle alluded to in a responsory (Hohler, p. 170, sect. 62) is in ch. 3 each of VCP and VCM, but not in VCA.

¹⁰⁴ I quote the antiphons and responsories from Hohler's edition ('The Durham Services', pp. 169–73) but have checked in each case that Corpus 183 presents no substantial variant reading.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. also the plural 'probabilibus castris', 'to worthy houses', referring, presumably, to Melrose and Ripon, and note that the following responsory (sect. 72) refers to the appearance of the angel, thereby further clarifying the sequence of events.

¹⁰⁶ For the rhymed Office, see R. M. Jacobsson and A. Haug, 'Versified Office', in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2nd ed., ed. S. Sadie and Y. Tyrell, 29 vols. (London, 2001) XXIX, 493–9, and M. Pörnbacher, 'Reimoffizium', in *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 3rd ed., ed. W. Kasper *et al.*, 11 vols. (Freiburg, 1993–2001) VIII, 1006–7; see also Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 9–17. For the rhymed Office in the later Middle Ages, see A. Hughes, 'Research Report: Late Medieval Rhymed Offices', *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 8 (1985), 33–49; and (with special emphasis on defining the form) Hughes, 'Literary Transformation in Post-Carolingian Saints' Offices: Using all the Evidence', in *Saints*, ed. Sticca, pp. 23–50. The article by J. Knappe ('Zur Benennung der Offizien im Mittelalter', *Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft* 26 (1984), 305–20) recycles Jonsson's discussion and gives a confused survey of the various meanings of the term *historia* in the Later Middle Ages.

¹⁰⁷ See Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* III (1991), pp. 421–9, Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* IV, 1 (1999), p. 116, n. 364, and Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 115–83. The earliest anonymous examples of rhymed Offices are found in the so-called Compiègne Antiphoner (Paris, BNF, lat. 17436), apparently produced between 860 and 877 for the personal

use of Charles the Bald: see Jonsson, *Historia*, pp. 30–76.

¹⁰⁸ They are ptd and discussed by Berschin, 'Sanktgallische Offiziendichtung aus ottonischer Zeit'. Also note that a tradition of experimenting with new liturgical forms was established at St Gallen by Notker I (d. 912), who produced a considerable corpus of sequences, the *Liber ymnorum* (c. 884). On Notker I, see Haefele and Gschwind, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VI, 1289–90.

- ¹¹⁰ For the 'alliterative charters', see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 153–9.
- ¹⁰⁹ For a discussion of Koenwald's trip to Germany, and the text of the entry in the St Gallen confraternity book, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 198–201. The remark that Koenwald had previously paid visits to 'omnibus monasteriis per totam Germaniam' is also found in the confraternity book, but the purpose of Koenwald's trip is not expressly stated there. For the special relationship between King Æthelstan and Koenwald, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 158–9. For a brief survey of Koenwald's career, see Keynes, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, pp. 273–5.
- ¹¹¹ Koenwald's name is spelled <Keonouwald> in the St Gallen confraternity book (ptd Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', p. 199). For the <k> spellings in Old High German, see W. Braune, *Althochdeutsche Grammatik* I, 15th ed., rev. I. Reiffenstein (Tübingen, 2004), § 142. For the charters with Koenwald's attestations with initial <K>, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', p. 159, n. 85, and Keynes, *Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters*, tables XXXVII, XLI, XLIV (1 and 2), XLVIII (1–3), and LIV (1).
- ¹¹³ See Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* III, 422, and Berschin, 'Sanktgallische Offizien-dichtung', p. 35.
- ¹¹² For the characteristic features of the hermeneutic style, see Lapidge, 'The Hermeneutic Style'. For the stylistic predilections at Æthelstan's court, see Lapidge, 'Schools, Learning and Literature', pp. 16–24, and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 332–49. For the ambitious style of one of the most famous early examples of a continental rhymed Office, Stephen of Liège's *Historia S. Lamberti*, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* III, 422–9.
- ¹¹⁴ For the difference between secular and monastic Nocturns, see above, p. 87. For the presumed monastic orientation of Glastonbury already in the 930s and the presence of Dunstan and Æthelwold there, see the brief discussion (with further references) by Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 354–5. The remark in Æthelwold's Preface to his translation of the RSB to the effect that King Edmund (940–6) installed Benedictine monks at Glastonbury ('Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', ed. Whitelock, p. 149) presumably refers to Dunstan's formal appointment as abbot there, in about 940, rather than to the adoption of the RSB by the community: see discussion in M. Gretsch, *Æthelwold of Winchester: Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries* (forthcoming). For the date of Dunstan's instalment as abbot of Glastonbury, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 374, n. 146.
- ¹¹⁵ For the relevance of the episcopal lists for the date and origin of Corpus 183, see Keynes, 'King Æthelstan's Books', pp. 181–3.
- ¹¹⁶ See Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 341–7.

¹¹⁸ See VCM, lines 11–29.

¹¹⁷ For Dunstan's sojourn at Æthelstan's court, see his earliest biographer: *Sancti Dunstani uita auctore B.*, in *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs, Rolls Series (London, 1874), pp. 3–52, at 5–21 (chs. 2–12). For Æthelwold (and Dunstan) at the court, see the much more precise account by Wulfstan of Winchester: *Wulfstan: Life*, chs. 7–10.

¹²⁰ For the 'Canterbury redaction', see Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition', pp. 142–6.

¹¹⁹ See above, pp. 86–7.

¹²⁵ For two fragmentary mass books which may have some connection with Æthelwold's Winchester, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. lxiii–lxvi. No commemoration of Cuthbert is found in these fragments. In this connection an incident, reported from the summer of (presumably) 970 and often commented on, is worth mentioning. Aldred, the provost of the community at Chester-le-Street and glossator of (*inter alia*) the Lindisfarne gospels, copied part of a mass for St Cuthbert into a manuscript which apparently had been recently acquired for his community. Aldred copied the text near Woodyates in Dorset, in the tent of Bishop Ælfsige of Chester-le-Street, as he himself indicated in a colophon. This may point to the existence in the South in c. 970 of a mass composed especially for St Cuthbert. But the matter is in need of further clarification (see for now Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 158 and Orchard, 'Masses for St Cuthbert', pp. 87 and 89). The manuscript into which the mass was copied is Durham Cathedral, A. IV. 19 (the Durham Collectar or Ritual); for Aldred's colophon, see T. J. Brown, in *The Durham Ritual*, ed. T. J. Brown *et al.*, EEMF 16 (Copenhagen, 1969), p. 24.

¹²⁶ Although some work has been done by way of stocktaking and on the interrelationships of the various mass sets, there is much room for further scholarly investigation. See for now: Hohler, 'The Durham Services' and Orchard, 'Masses for St Cuthbert'.

¹²⁷ See *Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, pp. 81–8 and 154–5. The mass for the translation may have commemorated either the translation of the relics of St Cuthbert from Chester-le-Street to Durham in 998 or the translation to the new Norman cathedral at Durham in 1104: see Turner, *New Minster Missal*, p. xxxv, who opts for the earlier date.

¹²⁸ See *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. Wilson, p. xxix, n. 1. The calendar entries are on pp. 11 and 17, the mass set on pp. 166–7.

¹²¹ For a reproduction, see *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, and Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 1; for discussion of the iconographic message of the miniature, see *ibid.*, pp. 146–57; for the presumed importance of this grouping in the Benedictional for Ælfric's *sanctorale*, see above, pp. 14–15.

¹²³ See Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 132 (no. 172).

¹²⁴ For the date of the Benedictional, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 212–14 and 260–1.

¹²² For a convenient listing of the blessings in the Benedictional and their sources, see Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', pp. 128–32. The entire Benedictional is reproduced in facsimile by G. F. Warner and H. A. Wilson, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1910), and by Prescott, *Facsimile*.

¹²⁹ See *Vita S. Oswaldi*, in *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London, 1879–94) I, 399–475, at 448.

¹³⁰ Hohler, 'The Durham Services', p. 170, sect. 62.

¹³¹ The reference is clearly to ch. 3 of VCM, not, as suggested by Raine, *Historians* I, 448, n. 1, to ch. 9; and the antiphon is not 'repeated *verbatim*', as is maintained by Orchard, 'Masses for St Cuthbert', p. 95. Note that in this antiphon no coherent phrases have been lifted from VCM, but cf. line 117: 'Mutantur uenti, ratibusque in litora iactis', 'the winds change course, and when the rafts are cast upon land', and line 104: 'puppis'.

¹³² See above, p. 97, and pp. 14–15.

¹³³ *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 2.

¹³⁴ *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 2.

¹³⁶ For Ælfric's presumed audience, see above, p. 55, and above, p. 5. The commission of the *Lives of Saints* by Æthelweard and Æthelmær emerges both from the Latin and the Old English Preface to the collection: see *Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 4. Æthelweard's interest in the *Catholic Homilies* is documented in an appendix to the English Preface to the First Series: see *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, p. 177, app. crit. For a recent attempt to define the boundary between saints that were universally culted and those culted locally in Anglo-Saxon churches, see C. Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Local Saints*, ed. Thacker and Sharpe, pp. 423–53.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.* I, 4.

¹⁴³ In the above figures I have not counted agreements in single words or very short phrases listed by Godden.

¹⁴⁴ See, for example, Godden, *CH, Commentary*, pp. 416 (on lines 7–27), 417 (on lines 48–51), 418 (on lines 59–73), and 421 (on lines 137–57).

¹³⁹ B. A. Blokhuis, 'Bede and Ælfric: the Sources of the Homily on St Cuthbert', in *Beda Venerabilis. Historian, Monk and Northumbrian*, ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald (Groningen, 1996), pp. 107–38.

¹⁴⁰ See Whatley *et al.*, 'Acta Sanctorum', p. 159. Whatley's findings with regard to VCA had already been incorporated in Godden's commentary; see below, n. 142.

¹⁴¹ Recall that, with one dubious exception, no manuscript of VCA written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England has survived (above, p. 73); but manuscripts of VCP containing marginal references taken from VCA are still extant: cf. VCP, ed. Colgrave, e.g. pp. 200, 252, 254 (app. crit.). Regardless of whether Ælfric drew directly on a manuscript of VCA or whether he used a manuscript of VCP with marginal glosses, it is clear (from the glossed manuscripts of VCP) that texts of VCA must have been in existence in England after the Viking incursions.

¹⁴² Godden's listing of the sources for Ælfric's Life has been accessible on the website of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* since 1997, and is now available (with the author's comments) in Godden, *Catholic Homilies. Introduction, Commentary and Glossary*, pp. 412–29.

¹³⁷ Förster, *Quellen von Ælfric's Homiliae Catholicae*; for the Cuthbert *vita*, see pp. 35–7.

¹³⁸ See above, p. 51, n. 127.

¹⁴⁷ A useful tool for the comparison of contents and structure is the table showing the arrangement of chapters in Bede's two Lives (and in the VCA) in Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II (1988), pp. 271–3.

¹⁴⁵ See, for example, Godden, *CH, Commentary*, pp. 417 (on lines 35–9), and 422 (on lines 171–6).

¹⁴⁶ For such conflation of VCM and VCP within a brief passage, see, for example, Godden, *CH, Commentary*, pp. 422–3 (for lines 171–6), 426 (for lines 259–71), and 427–8 (for lines 292–303).

¹⁴⁸ Note that Ælfric's adherence to VCM in this part of the story may have prompted his blunder of having Cuthbert preaching to the people *before* he was ordained in holy orders (CH II, ed. Godden, p. 82, line 52). This error could have arisen from the vague diction in ch. 5 of VCM; cf. line 171: 'Diuinis horam dum sacrat laudibus almus', 'While the holy man hallowed the hour in heavenly praise', which might be taken to represent Cuthbert privately saying the canonical hours. Only in ch. 6 of VCP is the sequence of events which led to Cuthbert taking the monastic habit made entirely clear; cf. above, p. 90.

¹⁴⁹ Note that Ælfric has a brief reference to Cuthbert's excellence as a preacher which is apparently based on this chapter: CH II, x. 131–6. (References are always to line numbers in Godden's edition of the Cuthbert *uita* (no. x).)

¹⁵⁰ Note that VCP, ch. 16 has a very brief and rather vague correlate in VCM, ch. 14, which Ælfric adopts in part (CH II, x. 159–62).

¹⁵¹ Cf. CH II, x. 259–91.

¹⁵² Cf. CH II, x. 292–304.

¹⁵³ Cf. CH II, x. 304–7.

¹⁵⁴ Cf. CH II, x. 308–23.

¹⁵⁵ Not exactly reproduced are VCM, chs. 32–46 (lines 680–979) and VCP, chs. 35–46 (pp. 264–307).

¹⁵⁶ CH II, x. 324–31.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 331–3.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 333–8.

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 339–41.

¹⁶³ See VCP, ed. Colgrave, ch. 24 (p. 238) and *CH* II, x. 240.

¹⁶⁴ For Theodore's archiepiscopal influence also in the North of England, see now Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 133–72.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. *CH* II, x. 142, 259 and 332 for Lindisfarne, and x. 163–5 for Farne. Note that Farne is identified as an island, to stress the isolation of Cuthbert's place of retreat, but no details of its whereabouts are given: 'þæt igland is eal beworpen mid sealtum brymme on sæ middan: 'that island is wholly surrounded by salty waves in the middle of the sea' (lines 164–5).

¹⁶¹ See, for example, Bethurum, 'The Form of Ælfric's Lives of Saints', pp. 519–20; and, with regard to Ælfric's representation of Cuthbert, Benedict and Martin, Godden, 'Experiments in Genre', pp. 277–8.

¹⁶² See above, pp. 69–70, and below, p. 117.

¹⁶⁵ See Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II, 277, who points out that Bede develops Cuthbert's role as a preacher in accordance with Gregory's *Regula pastoralis*. For Ælfric's lack of interest in the aforementioned details, see the summary of his omissions, above, pp. 104–5.

¹⁶⁶ The passage is VCM, ch. 8 (lines 220–51) and *CH* II, x. 74–94; for this episode, see also below, pp. 117–22. For an excellent stylistic analysis of the passage in VCM, see Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical *Vita*', pp. 352–4.

¹⁶⁷ *CH* II, x. 304–7; 'Who may ever relate all the powerful miracles of this holy man, how often he easily healed the sick, and constantly put to flight the black demons, and sagaciously predicted the death of people destined to die, wise through prophecy in the spirit of wisdom.' For a view that Ælfric is principally interested in Cuthbert's role as a preacher, see M. Clayton, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 147–75, at 163.

¹⁷⁰ See E. M. L. Ettmüller, *Engla and Seaxna Scopas and Boceras* (Quedlinburg, 1850), pp. 85–92, and see Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 106, n. 2.

¹⁷¹ See *CH* II, ed. Thorpe, pp. 132–54 and *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 81–91. Thorpe (*CH* II, 611) remarks that 'This homily, like others in the volume, is alliterative'. For Godden's comment on the prose rhythm, see *CH*, *Commentary*, p. 412.

¹⁷² *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 113; according to his analysis of the whole text, lines 113–99 and 239–341 are ‘rhythmical throughout’, while lines 1–112 and 200–38 ‘contain irregularities’ but also many sentences which are ‘strictly rhythmical’: *ibid.*, pp. 113–14.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

¹⁷⁴ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 115.

¹⁶⁸ The most thorough modern analysis of Ælfric’s rhythmical prose (including a brief survey of scholarship on the subject up to the 1960s) is Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 105–36. Pope (*ibid.*, pp. 113–16) also deals at some length with the rhythmical style in the Life of St Cuthbert.

¹⁶⁹ (London, 1834), p. v; see also Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 106 and n. 1.

¹⁸⁰ See Lapidge, ‘Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher’, p. 189 and n. 51, and Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 228–9.

⁸¹ See Gretsches, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 117–19.

¹⁸² See Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 109. For an attempt to discuss Ælfric’s stylistic modes loosely in terms of linguistic and narrative structuralist theory, see R. Waterhouse, ‘Ælfric’s “Usitatus” Use of Language in the *Lives of Saints*’, *Parergon*, n. s. 7 (1989), 1–45.

¹⁷⁵ See the brief discussion by Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 107–11.

¹⁷⁷ See O. Funke, ‘Studien zur alliterierenden und rhythmisierenden Prosa in der älteren englischen Homiletik’, *Anglia* 80 (1962), 9–36.

¹⁷⁶ See, for example, J. M. Schipper, *Grundriss der englischen Metrik* (Vienna, 1895), pp. 39–43 and S. M. Kuhn, ‘Was Ælfric a Poet?’, *Philological Quarterly* 52 (1973), 643–62.

¹⁷⁸ ‘Abbot Ælfric’s Rhythmic Prose’, *Modern Philology* 22 (1924–5), 353–66.

¹⁷⁹ See Bethurum, ‘The Form of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*’, Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 108–9, F. R. Lipp, ‘Ælfric’s Old English Prose Style’, *Studies in Philology* 66 (1969), 689–718,

S. M. Kuhn, 'Cursus in Old English: Rhetorical Ornament or Linguistic Phenomenon', *Speculum* 47 (1972), 188–206, and Kuhn, 'Was Ælfric a Poet?', pp. 643–4.

⁸⁸ Word usage in the *Catholic Homilies* can now be conveniently controlled by means of the Glossary in Godden, *CH, Commentary*, pp. 671–94.

¹⁸³ See, e.g., Pope, *Homilies of Ælfric* I, 122; Godden, 'Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary', pp. 217–19; Godden, 'Literary Language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language I: the Beginnings to 1066*, ed. R. M. Hogg (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 490–535, at 530; and Frank, 'Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose', p. 91, n. 19.

¹⁸⁴ See above, p. 111.

¹⁸⁵ *CH* II, x. 233; see Godden, 'Ælfric's Vocabulary', p. 219; Godden, *ibid.*, also adduces *siplice* (x. 191) among the poetic words in the Life; but cf. his Glossary (*CH, Commentary*, p. 762): *siplice* is attested only twice in Ælfric and not otherwise in Old English, and its meaning is unclear ('by chance?', 'on an occasion?', 'for the occasion?'). For *heolstor*, see also Frank, 'Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose', pp. 104–5.

¹⁸⁶ *CH* II, x. 86; see Frank, 'Poetic Words', p. 106, n. 31.

¹⁸⁷ *CH* II, x. 162; see Hofstetter, *Winchester und der spataltenglische Sprachgebrauch*, pp. 39–41.

¹⁸⁹ See *CH* II, ed. Godden, xiv. 255.

¹⁹⁰ Cf. also 'mid flowendum tearum' (x. 314–15): 'with flowing tears'.

¹⁹¹ See F. Holthausen, *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934), pp. 35 and 37.

¹⁹³ See K. Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik. Nach der angelsächsischen Grammatik von E. Sievers*, 3rd ed. (Tübingen, 1965), § 22, n. 2; and A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959), § 318.

¹⁹⁴ See Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, § 31, n. 2, and Campbell, *Old English Grammar*, § 316.

¹⁹⁵ Note that *brym(m)* is not qualified by an adjective (as in the Cuthbert Life) in its three other occurrences in *CH* II: xxiii. 147, xxiv. 60 and 146. Also note that the recherché flavour of the phrases under no. 4 which is suspected here can be confirmed by a recent study on the adjective *sealt* in collocation with terms for the ocean, which lists a high percentage of such collocations for Old English poetry: P. Lendinara, 'Tradurre dall' anglosassone: il mare "salato"', in *Testo medievale e traduzione*, ed. M. G. Cammarota and M. V. Molinari (Bergamo, 2001), pp. 237–70.

¹⁹² See *DOE*, s. vv. *brim* and *brym(m)*.

¹⁹⁶ 'The great and admirable soldier who shines forth through his many merits, Cuthbert'; see Milfull, *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 253–5 (no. 61).

¹⁹⁷ See Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical Vita', pp. 351–5.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 350. For a brief exposition of Arator's rendering of the *Acta apostolorum* into hexametrical verse, valuable for getting a glimpse of how deeply Bede let himself be influenced by Arator's method, see *ibid.*, pp. 349–50; see further Roberts, *Biblical Epic and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity*, pp. 172–9, and R. Hillier, *Arator on the Acts of the Apostles: a Baptismal Commentary* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 20–52.

¹⁹⁹ Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical Vita', p. 353.

²⁰⁰ For an analysis of Bede's poetic art in this passage, see Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical Vita', pp. 352–4. For the episode in the context of miracles concerning animals in Bede's two Lives, see also B. Colgrave, 'Bede's Miracle Stories', in *Bede*, ed. Thompson, pp. 201–29, at 223, and (for a comparison with VCA), P. Cavill, 'Some Dynamics of Story-Telling: Animals in the Early Lives of St Cuthbert', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 43 (1999), 1–20, esp. at 8–18.

²⁰¹ I have retained the punctuation of the manuscript (as reproduced in Godden's edition), since it lets us glimpse how the scribe conceived of the rhythmical patterning of the passage.

²⁰⁶ Cf. *VCM*, 244–51.

²⁰⁴ See *VCP*, ed. Colgrave, p. 190.

²⁰⁵ Cf. VCM, ed. Jaager, p. 75, app. crit.

²⁰² Cf. Godden, *CH*, *Commentary*, p. 419, who assumes that a few details came from VCP.

²⁰³ See Pope, *Homilies* I, 113.

²⁰⁷ Lapidge, 'Bede's Metrical *Vita*', p. 355.

²⁰⁸ For Benedict's injunctions concerning the time to be set aside for private reading and meditation of the monks, see *Benedicti Regula*, ed. Hanslik, chs. 48, 8.3 and 58.5; and see chs. 38 and 42 for times assigned to reading by a *lector*, the monks being requested to listen in silence. For the importance of *lectio* and *meditatio* in western monasticism, see J. Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, trans. C. Misrahi, 2nd ed. (New York, 1974), pp. 18–22 and 89–93.

²⁰⁹ Cf. *CH* I, ed. Clemons, p. 173, and *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 2.

²¹⁸ On the *opus geminatum* in Anglo-Saxon England, see P. Godman, 'The Anglo-Latin *opus geminatum*: from Aldhelm to Alcuin', *Medium Ævum* 50 (1981), 215–29, and G. Wieland, 'Geminus stilus: Studies in Anglo-Latin Hagiography', in *Insular Latin Studies*, ed. M. W. Herren (Toronto, 1981), pp. 113–33. For the important influence which Bede's VCM had on early medieval hagiography on the Continent, see Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* II, 268 and 276.

²¹⁹ For the hermeneutic style cultivated at Æthelstan's court, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 332–44; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 344–7 (on Rawlinson C. 697) and 359–67 (on Royal 7. D. XXIV).

²²⁰ On this manuscript, see *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. lxxxiii–lxxxiv, cix–cx, and 318–19, M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth at Work', in *Words and Works. Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. P. S. Baker and N. Howe (Toronto, 1998), pp. 25–43, at 34–7, and Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 139–43 and 367–8.

²¹¹ See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 249–60.

- ²¹² See *ibid.*, pp. 250–1; on Frithegod's poem and its author, see M. Lapidge, 'A Frankish Scholar in Tenth-Century England: Frithegod of Canterbury/Fredegaud of Brioude', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, pp. 157–181. See also his recent epitome of the article with bibliographical *aggiornamenti*: 'Frithegodus Cantuariensis *diac.*', in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del medioevo. Medieval Latin Texts and their Transmission I*, ed. P. Chiesa and L. Castaldi (Florence, 2004), pp. 134–45.
- ²¹³ See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 251–2; for an edition and commentary, see Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 335–551.
- ²¹⁴ See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 252–3, and Lapidge, 'Æthelwold and the *Vita S. Eustachii*', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature 900–1066*, pp. 213–23.
- ²¹⁵ See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 254–5, and F. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuioloquium de omnibus sanctis*: un poème inconnu de Wulfstan, chantre de Winchester', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988), 35–98.
- ²¹⁶ See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 255–6; and Lapidge, 'A Metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from Tenth-Century Winchester', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 255–306 (edition and discussion).
- ²¹⁰ The dossier is preserved in Paris, BNF, lat. 5362, a later copy (c. 1100) of what was arguably a hagiographical commonplace book (pertaining to SS Cuthbert, Oswald, Birinus, Swithun, Æthelwold and Æthelthryth) compiled by Ælfric himself: see Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 555–7 and, briefly, Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. cxlviii–cxlix.
- ²¹⁷ For these manuscripts, see Lapidge, 'Prolegomena to an Edition', pp. 130 and 155–7; for their possible association with King Æthelstan, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 357–8.
- ²²² See Lapidge, 'Verse Hagiography', pp. 259–60; the quotation is at 260. For the production of verse paraphrases of biblical texts as a scholastic exercise already in late antiquity, see Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 61–106; but cf. the cautious arguments against such an assumption by C. P. E. Springer, *The Gospel as Epic in Late Antiquity: the 'Paschale Carmen' of Sedulius* (Leiden, 1988), pp. 9–16.
- ²²³ On Oda and his connection with Æthelstan and Frithegod, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 339–40 and 370–2; see also above, p. 123, n. 212.
- ²²¹ For an analysis of the narrative modes in Latin biblical verse, see Roberts, *Biblical Epic*, pp. 161–81.
- ² Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars*; twenty of these calendars are also printed by Wormald, *English Calendars before A.D. 1100*.

For Ælfric's distinction between the *sanctorale* of the *Catholic Homilies* and that of the *Lives of Saints*, see above, p. 100 for further discussion, see below, p. 159.

³ See the sacramentary of Archbishop Robert of Jumièges, Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, 274 (Y6), 1014 × 1023, from Peterborough or Ely (?), ptd Wilson, *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, pp. 167–8 and 188–9; the New Minster Missal, Le Havre, Bibliothèque municipale 330, s. xi², from the New Minster, Winchester, ptd Turner, *Missal of the New Minster*, pp. 82–3 and 123–4; the Winchcombe Sacramentary, Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 127 (105), s. x^{3/4} or x^{4/4}, from Winchcombe or Ramsey (?), ptd Davril, *Winchcombe Sacramentary*, nos. 934–54, 1094–97 and 1406–10. The third mass set in the Winchcombe sacramentary is interesting in light of the possibility that this sacramentary may not have been produced for an English community but, perhaps, for exportation to a French monastery, perhaps Fleury, St Benedict's resting place: see Davril, *Winchcombe Sacramentary*, pp. 22–6.

⁴ Now Oxford, Bodleian Library, 579 (S. C. 2675); the continental part is dated s. ix and was written somewhere in northern Francia (but see below, p. 165, n. 30).

⁵ See Warren, ed., *The Leofric Missal*, p. xliii; and for a similar view concerning the origin of the two feasts, see Turner, ed., *Missal of the New Minster*, p. 10. The mass sets for St Benedict in the Leofric Missal are ptd Warren, *Leofric Missal*, pp. 139–40 and 149–50. There is a new edition by Orchard, *Leofric Missal*: see below, p. 165, n. 30. The mass sets for St Benedict are ptd there II, 254 (nos. 1411–15) and 273–4 (nos. 1561–5).

⁶ See *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. Wilson, p. 166; *Winchcombe Sacramentary*, ed. Davril, nos. 932–8; *New Minster Missal*, ed. Turner, pp. 79–80; and *Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren, p. 139; ed. Orchard II, 253–4 (nos. 1405–10).

⁷ See *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. Wilson, pp. 166–7, and *New Minster Missal*, ed. Turner, pp. 81–2 and 154–5.

⁸ The litanies are ptd Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*.

⁹ For Gregory in the Anglo-Saxon litanies, see also above, p. 38 and n. 65.

¹⁰ On the hymn for Gregory, see above, pp. 23 and 24; on the hymn for Cuthbert, see above, p. 116.

¹¹ The hymns are ptd Milfull, *Hymns of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, nos. 62 (the longish hymn), 63 and 64. The three hymns (with a full interlinear gloss in Old English) are also found in the two surviving manuscripts of the Latin prose paraphrase of the Office hymns, the *Expositio hymnorum*, ptd Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 342–6.

- ¹² For a brief survey of the dissemination of the text of the *RSB* in Anglo-Saxon England, see H. Gneuss, 'Die Benediktinerregel in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung', in *Benediktinerregel*, ed. Schröer, pp. 263–284, at 264–7.
- ¹³ An important (if somewhat overstated) article on the question of Gregory's Benedictinism is K. Hallinger, 'Papst Gregor der Große und der hl. Benedikt', in *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, ed. B. Steidle, Studia Anselmiana 42 (Rome, 1957), pp. 231–319. See also Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 750–2. Paul Meyvaert has somewhat redressed the balance in refuting Hallinger's thesis that Gregory scarcely knew the *RSB* and was in no way influenced by it: *Bede and Gregory the Great*, p. 26, n. 59.
- ¹⁴ All the legislative texts originating in the ambit of these early-ninth-century reforms and concerned with regulating monastic life posit the *RSB* as the undisputed norm for all monasteries. For brief surveys of the principal Carolingian texts in question, see Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 31–2; Lapidge in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. lvi–lviii; and M. Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: a Witness to the Early Stages of the Benedictine Reform in England?', *ASE* 32 (2003), 111–46, at 114–25 and 137–40.
- ¹⁶ For the activities of Theodore and Hadrian in England, see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 133–89. The evidence for the close study of the *RSB* comes from the 'Leiden Glossary', where a batch of glosses on the *RSB* is preserved. For the association of the 'Leiden Glossary' with the Canterbury School, see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, pp. 173–9. The batch of *RSB* glosses is ptd Hessels, *A Late Eighth-Century Latin-Anglo-Saxon Glossary*, pp. 3–7 (no. ii).
- ¹⁷ For such amalgams of various monastic rules from which, eventually, the *RSB* emerged victorious, see, for example, P. Engelbert, 'Regeltext und Romverehrung. Zur Frage der Verbreitung der *Regula Benedicti* im Frühmittelalter', *Römische Quartalschrift* 81 (1986), 39–60, and K. Zelzer, 'Von Benedikt zu Hildemar. Zu Textgestalt und Textgeschichte der *Regula Benedicti* auf ihrem Weg zur Alleingeltung', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 23 (1989), 112–30.
- ¹⁸ At a later date and if extant in written form this would have been referred to as a monastic customary.
- ¹⁹ See Zelzer, 'Zur Frage der Observanz des Benedict Biscop'; see also Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop'. For the 'rules' of seventeen monasteries being laid under contribution for the 'customary' of Wearmouth–Jarrow, see Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* I, 364–87, at 374–5.
- ¹⁵ For the two exemplars of Hatton 48, see P. Meyvaert, 'Towards a History of the Textual Transmission of the *Regula S. Benedicti*', *Scriptorium* 17 (1963), 83–110, at 97, and D. H. Farmer, *The Rule of St Benedict. Oxford Bodleian Library, Hatton 48*, EEMF 15 (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 18–20.

- ²⁰ On Benedict Biscop, see Lapidge in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, p. 60. For his injunction to follow the *RSB* with regard to the election of abbots, see Bede, *Historia abbatum*, ed. Plummer, pp. 375 and 381.
- ²¹ Cf. *Historia abbatum*, p. 364 and Grégoire le Grand, *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé II, 126: 'Fuit uir uitae uenerabilis, gratia Benedictus et nomine, ab ipso pueritiae suae tempore cor gerens senile. Aetatem quippe moribus transiens, nulli animum uoluptati dedit.' Cf. also Zelzer, 'Observanz des Benedict Biscop', p. 325, and Wormald, 'Bede and Benedict Biscop', p. 144. As is usual with Bede, his quotation is not just a matter of uncommented intertextuality, for Bede expressly refers to Gregory as the source for his sentence: see *Historia abbatum*, p. 364. For the opening sentence of the *Dialogi*, see also below, p. 142.
- ²² See, for example, H. M. R. E. Mayr-Harting, *The Venerable Bede, the Rule of St Benedict, and Social Class*, Jarrow Lecture 1976, and A. G. P. van der Walt, 'Reflections of the Benedictine Rule in Bede's Homiliary', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 37 (1986), 367–76.
- ²³ See Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 40–1.
- ²⁴ The now standard edition of the *Dialogi* (with French trans.) is de Vogüé (above, n. 21). An older edition is *Gregorii Magni Dialogi Libri IV*, ed. U. Moricca (Rome, 1924); for the differences between the two editions, see Straw, 'Gregory the Great', p. 55. An English translation is Zimmerman, *Saint Gregory the Great. Dialogues*.
- ²⁵ For the date, see *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé I, 25–7; for bibliography on Gregory, see above, p. 22, n. 2.
- ²⁶ For the dialogue structure of the work with regard to Ælfric, see below, pp. 149–51.
- ²⁷ For an overview of the reception of the *Dialogi* in modern times, see *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé I, 144–62 and, briefly, Straw, 'Gregory', pp. 54–5. In practically every work concerning itself with the *Dialogi* mention is made of the hostile criticism the book met with since the sixteenth century.
- ²⁸ See F. Clark, *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*, 2 vols. (Leiden, 1987), and the judicious refutation of Clark's hypothesis by Meyvaert, 'The Enigma of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues*'. See *ibid.*, pp. 335–7, also for the challenge to the authenticity of the *Dialogi* which was posed in 1614 by the vicar of Leeds and canon of Durham Cathedral, Robert Cooke. Clark's hypothesis was almost unanimously repudiated by Gregory scholars: see Straw, 'Gregory', p. 55, and the bibliography at 70–1. Nevertheless, Clark has recently reiterated his hypothesis in a second book: *The 'Gregorian' Dialogues and the Origins of Benedictine Monasticism* (Leiden, 2003). For a first critical response, see the judicious review by A. Kuzdale, *Speculum* 79 (2004), 748–50.

²⁹ See J. M. Petersen, *The 'Dialogues' of Gregory the Great in their Late Antique Cultural Background* (Toronto, 1984), esp. pp. 25–55. See also the discussion in Markus, *Gregory the Great and his World*, pp. 59–67. For a rejection of the view that the veneration of saints and belief in miracles are symptoms of a decaying culture, and for a useful overview of the role which saints and their miracles played in the societies of the late antique Byzantine East, see P. Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', in his *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (London, 1982), pp. 103–52 (first published 1971). See also the book-length study of Gregory's attitude to miracles by W. D. McCready, *Signs of Sanctity. Miracles in the Thought of Gregory the Great* (Toronto, 1989). In the course of his discussion of a great variety of miracles, mainly drawn from the *Dialogi*, McCready provides useful synopses of the often conflicting interpretations assigned to these miracles by modern scholarship. Note that McCready tends to dissociate the Gregorian miracles from the common, traditional and literary core of miracle stories as it was then in existence, and rather to view them as eye-witness reports received and written down in good faith by Gregory: see esp. pp. 111–54. There is also much relevant discussion in W. D. McCready, *Miracles and the Venerable Bede* (Toronto, 1994), *passim*.

³⁰ See E. Auerbach, *Literatursprache und Publikum in der lateinischen Spätantike und im Mittelalter* (Bern, 1958), pp. 72–8; Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil I* (1986), pp. 305–21.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 320.

³² See A. Jolles, *Einfache Formen. Legende, Sage, Mythe, Rätsel, Spruch, Kasus, Memorabile, Märchen, Witz* (Halle, 1929), p. 8: 'Formen . . . die sich, sozusagen ohne Zutun eines Dichters, in der Sprache selbst ereignen, aus der Sprache selbst erarbeiten.' On the genre of legends, see *ibid.*, pp. 19–49. Jolles's work must be seen in the context of German literary theory during the 1920s, and is also indebted to Jacob Grimm's distinction between 'Naturpoesie' and 'Kunstpoesie': see *ibid.*, pp. 183–7.

³³ See *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé I, 51–80, and the brief summary of de Vogüé's analysis by Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil I*, 308.

³⁴ For a survey of vernacular translations of the *Dialogi*, see G. Dufner, *Die Dialoge Gregors des Grossen im Wandel der Zeiten und Sprachen* (Padua, 1968). This survey focuses on translations into the Italian vernacular up to the sixteenth century; for translations into other vernaculars, see *ibid.*, pp. 38–45. For Old High German glosses on the *Dialogi*, see W. Schulte, *Die althochdeutsche Glossierung der Dialogi Gregors des Grossen* (Göttingen, 1995); for Middle Dutch translations of the *Dialogi*, see G. H. M. Claassens, 'Gregory's *Dialogi* in Middle Dutch Literature', in *Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, pp. 207–37.

³⁵ The edition is Hecht, *Bischof Wærferths von Worcester Übersetzung der Dialoge Gregors des Grossen*; on the date of the translation, see *ibid.*, part II, 18–22, and Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 123; see also below, p. 139, n. 50.

42 Cf. C. Plummer, *The Life and Times of Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1902), pp. 169–70, n. 4. (Note in passing that Plummer was among those who did not think highly of the *Dialogi*: ‘the least edifying of all of Gregory’s writings’, *ibid.*, p. 143.) See further, with a sizeable number of parallels between the *Dialogi* and the *Historia ecclesiastica: Bischof Wærferths Übersetzung*, ed. Hecht, part II, 13–18. Hecht (p. 13) refers to Plummer as having been the first to notice the similarities between the two works. See also W. Levison (‘Bede as Historian’, in *Bede*, ed. Thompson, pp. 111–51, at 127 and n. 4, and p. 144), who remarks that Hecht’s examples of similar phrases could easily be augmented, and points out that an influence of the *Dialogi* can also be detected in other works of Bede; and cf. *HE*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. xxxiv–xxxvi, and Wallace-Hadrill, *HE, Commentary*, pp. xxiv and 178.

37 For the ‘Leiden Glossary’ and the Canterbury school, see above, p. 131, n. 16; the glosses from the *Dialogi* are ptd *A Late-Eighth-Century Glossary*, ed. Hessels, pp. 40–2 (no. xxxix).

38 For the allusions in the prose *De uirginitate*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, pp. 268–9; trans. Lapidge and Herren, *Aldhelm: the Prose Works*, pp. 89–90 (Benedict); and *Aldhelmi Opera*, p. 300; trans. *Aldhelm*, p. 113 (Scholastica). For the *Carmen*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 389–90; trans. Lapidge and Rosier, *Aldhelm: the Poetic Works*, pp. 121–2 (Benedict); and *Aldhelmi Opera*, pp. 436–7; trans. *Aldhelm*, pp. 147–8 (Scholastica).

39 See Meyvaert, ‘The Enigma of Gregory the Great’s *Dialogues*’, pp. 342–3. In the late seventh century, knowledge of Benedict’s sister could only have been drawn from the *Dialogi*. For the date of the prose *De uirginitate*, see Lapidge in *Aldhelm: the Prose Works*, p. 14; for the nun Scholastica as one of the dedicatees of the work, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed.

Ehwald, p. 229.

40 See *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 191: the quotation occurs in Aldhelm’s discussion of one of the metrical feet, the first epitritus, and aims to demonstrate that Gregory used the perfect form *fricauit* instead of *fricuit*.

36 Bede (*HE* I. 29, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 104) states that Pope Gregory sent, together with the second group of missionaries, in 601 ‘necnon et codices plurimos’ (‘and very many manuscripts’) to England; but he remains silent on what books were in question. Ælfric in his Gregory homily (*CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 80) adopts Bede’s assertion but also without further specification. For types of manuscripts which either might have been sent to England in 601 or already brought there by St Augustine in 597, see Wallace-Hadrill, *HE, Commentary*, pp. 43–4. In this connection one should recall the remark in King Alfred’s verse preface to his translation of Gregory’s *Regula pastoralis* that this text was brought to England by St Augustine: see *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet I, 8; see also Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, pp. 126–7.

- ⁴⁸ By the ninth century, knowledge of Theodore's activities and achievements may have been lacunose; however, knowledge of Bede's glowing account (in book IV of the *HE*) of his archiepiscopate will have been widespread.
- ⁴⁹ For the translation in the context of the Alfredian programme, see the standard articles by Whitelock, 'The Prose of Alfred's Reign', pp. 67–8 and 77–9; and J. Bately, 'Old English Prose Before and During the Reign of Alfred', *ASE* 17 (1988), 93–138, at 120–3.
- ⁴³ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *Two Lives of Saint Cuthbert*; for the date, see *ibid.*, p. 13; for quotations from and parallels to the *Dialogi*, see *ibid.*, Index.
- ⁴⁵ Ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956); for the date, see *ibid.*, p. 15; for quotations from and parallels to the *Dialogi*, see *ibid.*, Index.
- ⁴⁶ Ed. Kotzor, *Das altenglische Martyrologium*; for the entry for Benedict, based on the *Dialogi*, see *ibid.* II, 31 (no. 51) and 296–7; for the date, see I, 449*–54*.
- ⁴⁷ The manuscripts in question are Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 856.1 frag. (s. viii²), 937.3 (s. vii/viii), and 943.8 frag. (s. viii¹ or viii^{med}). The remaining six manuscripts of the *Dialogi* are Gneuss, *Handlist*, nos. 34 (s. xi² or xi^{3/4}); 208 frag. (s. xiⁿ); 510 (s. xi¹); 667 (s. xiⁿ or xi^{2/4}); 715 (s. x); 924 parts (s. x^{ex}).
- ⁴⁴ Ed. and trans. Colgrave, *The Earliest Life of Gregory the Great*; for the date, see *ibid.*, pp. 47–9; for quotations from and parallels to the *Dialogi*, see *ibid.*, Appendix, p. 171.
- ⁵⁴ For a view that Alfred would scarcely have read much of Wærferth's translation and would certainly not have approved of it (and by implication of the Latin original), see M. Godden, 'Wærferth and King Alfred: the Fate of the Old English *Dialogues*', in *Alfred the Wise. Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J. L. Nelson with M. Godden (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 35–51, at 43–9. The most recent assessment of the Old English translation of the *Dialogi* is K. Dekker, 'King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*: Tales for the Unlearned?', in *Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, pp. 27–50.
- ⁵⁰ See Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', ed. Stevenson, ch. 77 (p. 62); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 92. For 893 as the date of Asser's Life, see Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', ed. Stevenson, ch. 91 (p. 76); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 101; and see *ibid.*, pp. 269–70, n. 218. That Wærferth possibly had a collaborator emerges from the Preface to the translation; for this see below, n. 51.
- ⁵¹ The Preface is ptd *Bischof Wærferths Übersetzung*, ed. Hecht, p. 1; trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 123.

⁵² Asser's 'Life of King Alfred', ed. Stevenson, ch. 77 (p. 62); trans. Keynes and Lapidge, *Alfred the Great*, p. 92.

⁵³ See Hecht, *Bischof Wærferths Übersetzung*, part II, esp. at 99–121, and P. N. U. Hartung, 'The Text of the Old English Translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*', *Neophilologus* 22 (1937), 281–302.

⁵⁸ See CH II.xxi, lines 114–30; for Ælfric's treatment of his source, see Godden, CH, *Commentary*, pp. 542–3.

⁵⁵ See Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, pp. 201–3 and 225–31.

⁵⁶ For the revision, see also above, p. 36 and n. 55.

⁵⁷ For these verbal echoes and borrowings, see Godden, CH, *Commentary*, p. liii. In his non-cyclic homilies Ælfric does not borrow from the *Dialogi*: see the survey of their sources in *Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. Pope, 2 vols. I, 168.

⁵⁹ CH II.xxi, lines 176–80; 'Also, the holy Pope Gregory wrote in his book of the *Dialogues* how greatly many people benefitted from holy mass. This book is translated into English, in which everyone who will peruse it may hear fully about this subject.' The reference is to IV, ch. 12 of the *Dialogi*; for this remark in the context of Ælfric's references to other Alfredian translations, see above, p. 35.

⁶⁰ *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé, II, 126.

⁶¹ See Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil* I (1986), p. 311.

⁶⁴ See *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé, ch. 15.3 (p. 184; Rome), and see *Dialogues*, ch. 17.1 (p. 192; Monte Cassino).

⁶⁵ See *Dialogues*, prol. 2 (p. 128).

⁶⁶ See *Dialogues*, ch. 35.2–5 (pp. 236–8), and CH II.xi, 522–36. References are always to line numbers in Godden's edition of the Benedict *nita* (no. xi).

⁶⁸ See also below, pp. 150–1; for the Cuthbert *uita* set in a timeless and spaceless frame, see above pp. 109–10. For a view that Ælfric wrote his Cuthbert and Benedict *uitae* in much the same mode, cf. Godden, 'Experiments in Genre', p. 277.

⁶² Note that my narrative units, established according to their contents in order to enable a better structural comparison with Ælfric's Life, do not always coincide with the subdivisions of the individual chapters (made for reasons of length) in de Vogüé's edition of the *Dialogi*.

⁶³ See above, pp. 53–6 and 106–9.

⁶⁷ See *Dialogues*, ch. 14.1–2 (pp. 180–2), and *CH* II.xi, 234–61. That Ælfric fails to identify the Goths and their king as the cruel oppressors of the Italian population and as the agency of the fall of Rome in 546 may be noteworthy in light of the fact that the Goths are mentioned in several Alfredian writings, where the sack of Rome under Alaric in 410 is referred to as the crucial event that heralded the loss of Roman control over Britain. For the Goths in Alfredian writings, see M. R. Godden, 'The Anglo-Saxons and the Goths: Rewriting the Sack of Rome', *ASE* 31 (2002), 47–68. In view of the infrequency and ambiguity of these earlier references to the Goths, it seems unlikely that Ælfric's reticence on this point may have been influenced in any way by their representation in the Alfredian texts (on Ælfric and the Goths in the *uita*, see also below, p. 147).

⁶⁹ See *Dialogues*, ch. 13.1–3 (pp. 176–8).

⁷⁰ See *Dialogues*, ch. 12.1–2 (pp. 174–6), and *CH* II.xi, 219–33; for Ælfric's treatment of his source, see also Godden, *CH*, *Commentary*, p. 437.

⁷¹ For this injunction, cf. *RSB* 51.1–2; the *RSB* is quoted by chapter and paragraph after the standard critical edition *Benedicti Regula*, ed. Hanslik.

⁷³ In the *Regularis concordia* it is stated that, through the intervention of Archbishop Dunstan himself, a provision was included in the *acta* of the Winchester synod of c. 973, concerning the proper conduct of priests and monks on duty in a nunnery: see *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, ch. 7 (pp. 4–5). Similarly, in one of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of the Old English Rule, and in the Early Middle English adaptation of this text (the ‘Winteneý Version’), ch. 62 of the Latin *Regula* (dealing with the rank of priests in the monastic community) is replaced by an instruction (translated from the Aachen rule for canonesses of 816) which concerns the proper behaviour of priests entrusted with the spiritual care of nuns. Apparently, this ‘new’ ch. 62 was originally intended for the version of the Old English Rule made for nunneries, where the authentic form of ch. 62 (rank of priests) would have been of no relevance. The Old English text of the ‘new’ ch. 62 is ptd Schröer, *Benediktinerregel*, pp. 140–1. That ch. 62 of the Latin *Regula* had been replaced with a female readership in mind had already been conjectured by Schröer in 1885 (see *ibid.*, pp. xxxvii–xxxviii), a very plausible conjecture, since a vernacular version for nuns was in circulation, as can be seen *inter alia* from uncorrected feminine forms of pronouns in several manuscripts of the ‘male’ version.

⁷⁴ See *Dialogues*, chs. 33.2–5 and 34.1–2 (pp. 230–4), and *CH* II.xi, 486–521.

⁷² See *Dialogues*, ch. 19.1–2 (pp. 194–6).

⁷⁵ For this injunction, see the ‘feminine’ form of ch. 62 of the Old English Rule: *Benediktinerregel*, ed. Schröer, p. 140.

⁷⁶ See above, pp. 106 and 109.

⁷⁷ See *Dialogues*, ch. 1.3–7 (pp. 130–4), and *CH* II.xi, 25–44.

⁷⁹ See *Dialogues*, ch. 6.1 (pp. 154–6), and *CH* II.xi, 135–9.

⁷⁸ See *Dialogues*, ch. 8.3 (p. 162), and *CH* II.xi, 140–52.

⁸⁰ The two episodes in question are *CH* II.xi, 94–108 = *Dialogues*, ch. 7.1–3 (pp. 156–8), placed before *CH* II.xi, 118–34 = *Dialogues*, ch. 5.1–3 (pp. 152–4). Note that such rearrangement is consonant with Ælfric’s interest in presenting the events related in his sources in a proper chronological order: see above p. 52 and below pp. 215–18.

⁸¹ See *Dialogues*, ch. 27.1 (p. 214), and *CH* II.xi, 404–7.

- ⁸² See *CH* II.xi, 413–4, and cf. *Dialogues*, ch. 28.1 (p. 218).
- ⁸⁴ *CH* II.xi, 5–6, ‘was doing fine with regard to wisdom/learning’.
- ⁸³ See above, p. 144.
- ⁸⁵ *CH* II.xi, 550–3; for the lack of any source for this passage, see Godden, *CH, Commentary*, p. 447.
- ⁸⁶ See *Dialogues*, ch. 36 (p. 242), and *CH* II.xi, 547–50.
- ⁸⁷ See *CH* II.xi, 573–5, and cf. *Dialogues*, ch. 37 (pp. 242–4).
- ⁸⁸ Godden, *CH, Commentary*, p. 448.
- ⁸⁹ See *Dialogues*, ch. 3.3–5 (pp. 138–40).
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, ch. 3.10–12 (pp. 146–8).
- ⁹¹ *Ibid.*, ch. 16.3–8 (pp. 186–90), and ch. 23.6–7 (pp. 208–10).
- ⁹² *Ibid.*, ch. 2.8–10 (pp. 164–6), and ch. 30.2 (pp. 220–2).
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. 32.4–33.5 (pp. 228–34).
- ⁹³ *Ibid.*, ch. 21.3–5 (pp. 198–200).
- ⁹⁵ See *CH* II.xi, 325–33, and *Dialogues*, ch. 22.4–5 (p. 204).
- ⁹⁶ See *CH* II.xi, 536–46, and cf. *Dialogues*, ch. 35.5–8 (pp. 238–42).

- ⁹⁷ For this purpose, see the Latin Prefaces to both series, and the Old English Preface to the second series: *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 173–4, and *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 1–2.
- ⁹⁸ EEM is ptd and trans. Whitelock, 'Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries'. For the contents of EEM, see also above, pp. 43–5 and p. 94, n. 114.
- ⁹⁹ For the representation of the three saints in the *Benedictional*, see above, p. 15. For reproductions of the miniature of the 'Choir of Confessors', see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pl. 1, and *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fol. 1.
- ¹⁰⁰ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 172–3. Gregory and Cuthbert also wear a pallium, to which, strictly speaking, only Gregory as a pope would have been entitled; Cuthbert was a bishop, not an archbishop. However, the pallium was worn occasionally also by bishops: cf. *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. Cross, p. 1211; *Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche*, 2nd ed. by J. Höfer and K. Rahner VIII (Freiburg, 1963), cols. 7–9 (the 3rd ed. VII (Freiburg, 1998), cols. 1299–1300 contains less information on the pallium); Kranemann, *Lexikon des Mittelalters* VI, cols. 1643–4; and Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 172, n. 15.
- ¹⁰¹ For reproductions, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, plate 33, and *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fol. 99^v.
- ¹⁰² For the election of an abbot as prescribed by the *RSB*, see *Benedicti Regula*, ed. Hanslik, ch. 64; for the election of a bishop according to the same procedure, see *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, p. 6 (ch. 9); for the highly unusual character of the institution of the monastic cathedral judged from a continental perspective, see Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts', pp. 37–8.
- ¹⁰⁴ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 117 and 119–20, and Deshman, 'Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus. Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 22 (1988), 204–40, esp. 206–7, and 211–19.
- ¹⁰³ For Benedict's feast picture and its crown symbolism, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 117–21 and 172–3; for a discussion of the connection between the *Benedictional*'s crown symbolism, Benedictine liturgy, psalm exegesis and the vernacular 'Winchester' terminology for *corona* and *coronare*, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 296–304.
- ¹⁰⁵ For Æthelwold's remark in EEM, see ed. Whitelock, pp. 150–1; for the presumed date of EEM, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 240–1; for the presumed date of the *Benedictional*, see above, p. 7 and n. 27; for the translation of the *RSB* also made with a view to the laity, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. liv–lv.
- ¹⁰⁶ Gregory has a set of benedictions but no feast picture (*Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fol. 37–37^v); Cuthbert has neither proper benedictions, nor a feast picture.

- ¹⁰⁷ See the table of the sources of the blessings in the Benedictional by Prescott, 'Text of the Benedictional', p. 131 (no. 146); and Prescott, in *Facsimile*, p. 23. For the composition of liturgical pieces such as benedictions in Æthelwold's circle, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, p. lxxxi.
- ¹⁰⁸ For the text, see *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fol. 100v, and Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 118, n. 60. The text is *Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*, ed. Moeller, no. 1770. My translation is based (with adaptations) on Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 117–18.
- ¹⁰⁹ For a succinct introduction to this type of pontifical book, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. lxxix–lxxxiii. For the benedictionals surviving from Anglo-Saxon England and their manuscript context, see H. Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 91–141, at 133–4; repr. in his *Books and Libraries in Early England* (Aldershot, 1996), no. V.
- ¹¹⁰ For reform monasteries (not only monastic cathedrals) being engaged in the pastoral care of the laity, see M. Clayton, 'Homiliaries and Preaching in Anglo-Saxon England', *Peritia* 4 (1985), 207–42, at 232–9; and Gneuss, *Ælfric von Eynsham und seine Zeit*, p. 20 and n. 35 (with further references). With regard to the laity, and hence a wider audience, being present when the benedictions were pronounced, it is relevant to note that the Benedictional's blessings for St Benedict's feast day found their way into numerous pre- and post-Conquest English benedictionals; the Canterbury Benedictional (BL, Harley 2892, s. xi^{2/4}) being the largest and most important of these: see *The Canterbury Benedictional*, ed. R. M. Woolley, HBS 51 (London, 1917), pp. 89 and 159. For the relationships between the surviving Anglo-Saxon benedictionals, see the important article by Prescott, 'Structure of English Pre-Conquest Benedictionals'; for the Canterbury Benedictional, cf. *ibid.*, p. 132, and Table IV, pp. 148–55.
- ¹¹² For Ælfric's representation of Cuthbert, cf. above, pp. 107–10.

¹¹³ For this influence, see above, pp. 6–7.

- ¹¹⁴ For the entry in the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, see Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of Cotton-Corpus', p. 143 (no. 162). For Adrevald of Fleury, see Glauche, in *Lexikon des Mittelalters* I, cols. 165–6; Love, in *C.A.L.M.A. Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500–1500)* I.1 (Florence 2000), p. 47; J. Hourlier, 'La translation d'après les sources narratives', in 'Le culte et les reliques de Saint Benoît et de Sainte Scholastique', *Studia Monastica* 21 (1979), 213–39, at 224–6; and *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae 735–987*, ed. M.–H. Jullien and F. Perelman, CCCM I (Turnhout, 1994), 36–42. For knowledge of Adrevald's hagiography of St Benedict in Anglo-Saxon England, see Whatley *et al.*, 'Acta Sanctorum', pp. 111–12.

¹¹¹ For Ælfric's rearrangement in this respect, see above, pp. 14–15.

¹ For the phrases 'nostra tempestate' and 'nostris temporibus' with reference to Swithun, see *Epitome translationis et miraculorum S. Swithuni*, ch. 10, and Lantfred of Winchester, *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*, ch. 4; both texts are ptd Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 251–333 and pp. 563–73. For a similar phrasing with regard to Æthelthryth, see below, p. 230.

² The prefaces are ptd *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 173–7; *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. 1–2, and *LS* ed. Skeat I, 2–7. The prefaces are also ptd, with English trans. of the Latin ones, by Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, pp. 107–12 and 119–21.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 107 and 150.

⁴ See *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 4. For the date of Æthelweard's death, see above, p. 16, n. 71; the *terminus ante quem* for the completion of the *Catholic Homilies* is set by Archbishop Sigeric's death on 28 October 994: see above p. 21, n. 1. There has been some discussion concerning the year of his death: cf. Godden, *CH*, *Commentary*, pp. xxxii–xxxv; but charter evidence points unambiguously to 994 for this event. Note that Peter Clemoes (followed by other scholars) assigned the period between 992 and 1002 to the composition of the *Lives of Saints*: he assumed completion of the *Catholic Homilies* in 992 and does not seem to have been aware of the charter evidence for Æthelweard's death; see Clemoes, 'The Chronology of Ælfric's Works', p. 244.

⁵ 'Nec tamen omnia euangelia tangimus per circulum anni, sed illa tantummodo quibus speramus sufficere posse simplicibus ad animarum emendationem', *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, p. 173; 'However, we have not treated all the gospels for the course of the year, but only those by which we hope to improve sufficiently the souls of the simple-minded.'

⁶ 'si integre eis [i.e. fidelibus] a ministris Dei recitentur in ecclesia', *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, p. 173; 'if they are read out to the faithful in church by the servants of God'.

⁸ 'studentes aliis prodesse edificando ad fidem lectione huius narrationis', *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 2; 'desiring to help others in strengthening their faith by the reading of this narrative'.

⁹ Cf. the identical phrasing in the respective prefaces: 'siue legendo, siue audiendo', *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, p. 173, and 'siue legendo, seu audiendo', *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 2.

³ As has been suggested by Michael Lapidge, who draws attention to the 'otherwise inexplicable remark' in the Latin Preface to the *Lives of Saints*: 'sed decreui modo quiescere post quantum librum a tali studio, ne superfluous iudicer' ('nevertheless I have resolved at last to desist from such labour after completing the fourth book, that I may not be regarded as too tedious', ptd and trans. *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 4–5): see Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 577 and n. 18.

⁷ 'passiones etiam uel uitas sanctorum', *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 2.

¹⁵ See above, p. 154 and n. 110.

¹¹ See Godden, 'Experiments in Genre', pp. 261–2.

¹² See the quotations of the relevant passages from the various prefaces, above, p. 100.

¹³ *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 2; 'the Passions and Lives of those saints who are venerated, not by the laity, but by the monks in their Offices'. See also the Old English Preface to the *Lives of Saints*: 'þæt we þas boc be þæra halgena ðrowungum and life gedih-ton ðe mynstermenn mid heora þenungum betwux him wurðiað', *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 4; 'that we wrote this book about the Passions and Lives of those saints whom the monks honour with their Offices'.

¹⁴ On this point, see the remarks by Sisam, *Studies in the History of Old English Literature*, p. 164 and Godden, *CH, Commentary*, p. 513. For a recent attempt to explain Ælfric's inclusion of the piece in the *Catholic Homilies*, see S. Rosser, 'Ælfric's Two Homilies for May 3: the Invention of the Cross and the Martyrdom of Pope Alexander and SS. Eventius and Theodolus', in *Ælfric's Lives of Canonised Popes*, ed. Scragg, pp. 55–73.

¹⁶ See above, pp. 6–7.

¹⁷ For lessons from saints' Lives being read out during monastic and secular nocturns on a saint's feast day, see Harper, *Forms and Order of Western Liturgy*, pp. 88–96.

¹⁸ If Ælfric did envisage composing a second volume of saints' *uitae* (see above, p. 157 and n. 3), the parallel to the Cotton-Corpus legendary in respect of compass would have been all the more obvious.

²² For the scribal eccentricities in Julius E. vii, see *Ælfric. Lives of Three English Saints*, ed. Needham, pp. 6–11, and app. crit.; for the possibility of recovering Ælfric's original text from its transmitted form in Julius E. vii, see M. Gretsich, 'In Search of Standard Old English', in *Bookmarks from the Past. Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. L. Kornexl and U. Lenker (Munich, 2003), pp. 33–67, at 45–55.

- ²³ For Ælfric's early loss of control over the *Lives of Saints*, cf. Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 235–8, who came to the conclusion that Ælfric never attempted to create a fully fledged legendary, that is, a complete cycle of hagiographical pieces for the *Sanctorale* to match his later *Temporale* cycle, which he created by replacing the hagiographical texts in the *Catholic Homilies* with additional homilies for the *Temporale*. For the augmentation of the *Temporale* homilies, with the apparent aim of providing 'a full set of pericope expositions for the entire year', see Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 227–33 (quotation at 232); see also Pope, *Homilies* I, 10 and 39–48.
- ¹⁹ For Ælfric's concern with the text of the *Catholic Homilies*, see *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, pp. 64–135, and *CH* II, ed. Godden, pp. xx–xciv, and the important early study by Sisam, 'MSS. Bodley 340 and 342', pp. 148–85.
- ²⁰ For the transmission of the *Lives of Saints*, see most recently, and importantly, Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*'.
- ²¹ For the four saints' Lives in question, see, for example, Hill, 'Dissemination', p. 253, n. 4. On several occasions Ælfric gave instructions in his prefaces not to make any changes to his texts, especially in the form of interpolations. For the *Lives of Saints*, see his English Preface: 'Ic bidde nu on Godes naman gif hwa þas boc awritan wille þæt he hi wel gerihte be þære bysne and þær na mare betwux ne sette þonne we awendon', *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 6; 'In God's name I now request that, should anyone wish to copy this book, he do it carefully, according to his exemplar, and do not introduce more material than we have translated'.
- ²⁵ The entry, made by the original scribe, is 'depositio aethildrudis'; the phonological form of her name unequivocally points to the entry being made on the Continent, not in England, with the implication that the whole calendar was written on the Continent, if (on the evidence of obituaries for Northumbrian kings) obviously derived from a Northumbrian exemplar: see M. Gretsche, 'Æthelthryth of Ely in a Lost Calendar from Munich', *ASE* 35 (2006, forthcoming). For the calendar, see Rushforth, *Atlas of Saints*, pp. 14–15; the fragment is ptd R. Bauerreiss, 'Ein angelsächsisches Kalenderfragment des bayrischen Hauptstaatsarchivs in München', *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens und seiner Zweige* 51 (1933), 177–82.
- ²⁴ See the relevant tables in Rushforth, *Atlas of Saints*. For the commemoration of Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert in Anglo-Saxon calendars, see above, pp. 127–8. For Swithun in medieval calendars, see now also Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 25–8.
- ³⁰ For the continental origin of 'Leofric A' or of its exemplar, see *Leofric Missal*, ed. Warren, pp. xxxii–lii; and see the new edition by Orchard, *Leofric Missal*. Orchard (I, 23–131) argues for an English origin of 'Leofric A'; but the fact remains that 'Leofric A' is closely dependent on continental (especially Flemish and north Italian) sources.
- ³¹ See above, p. 128 and n. 3; on the manuscript, see also Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', pp. 391–4.

³² For Lantfred's identity, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 218–24; for the *Translatio*, see *ibid.*, pp. 224–50.

³³ For Cuthbert's commemoration on the Continent, see above, pp. 69–74. For BNF 7299, see Rushforth, *Atlas of Saints*, pp. 18–19, and Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter', pp. 395–6. St Æthelthryth is also omitted from this calendar, which does contain a number of English saints, St Cuthbert (who is commemorated by his two feasts) among them.

²⁶ For the books in question and for the representation of Gregory, Benedict and Cuthbert in these, see above, p. 128 and nn. 3 and 4.

²⁷ See above, pp. 16–17 and n. 73; and see now Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 22. For the commemoration of Swithun in the *New Minster Missal*, see *Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, pp. 117–18 (deposition) and p. 125 (translation); and see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 75–8.

²⁸ See *Missal of the New Minster*, ed. Turner, p. 108.

²⁹ See *Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. Wilson, pp. 181–2 (Æthelthryth) and p. 189 (Swithun).

³⁴ The figures for our other three saints are: Cuthbert in twenty-six litanies, Gregory in forty and Benedict in forty-one; see also above, p. 129. The litanies are ptd Lapidge, *Litanies of the Saints*. For Swithun in pre-Conquest litanies, see now Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 33–4.

³⁵ See Lapidge, *Litanies*, p. 85, and the litany at p. 301.

³⁶ See Lapidge, *Litanies*, no. XII.131 and 156 (p. 145), and cf. *ibid.*, p. 68; and see the detailed study of this litany by F. Wormald, 'The English Saints in the Litany in Arundel MS. 60', *Analecta Bollandiana* 64 (1946), 72–86, at 82 (no. 156).

³⁷ See Lapidge, *Litanies*, p. 76.

³⁸ See *ibid.*, p. 77.

³⁹ See *ibid.*, p. 79.

⁴⁰ Seaxburh, Wihtburh and Eormenhild; also, three holy women from Peterborough are included: Cyneburh, Cyneswith and Tibba; cf. Lapidge, *Litanies*, p. 82.

⁴¹ See above, p. 164.

⁴² See above pp. 23, 118 and 129.

⁴³ For the hymns in question, see Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, table II, p. 68.

⁴⁴ For Wulfstan's authorship of the hymns, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. xxviii–xxix; Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 783–4 and 790; and Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 117–18 and 246–8. The hymns *inc.* 'Aurea lux patriae' (SK 1443) and *inc.* 'Auxilium Domine' (SK 1530) are ptd *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, ed. Dreves and Blume, 48.3 and 48.4, and Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 784–7 and 790–2.

⁴⁵ 'et imitari morem sacrae scripturae, cuius historiae carmina plurima indita et haec metro ac uersibus constat esse composita'; see Bede, *HE* IV.20 [18] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 396–401); the quotation (text and trans.) is at 396–7. The hymn, *inc.* 'Alma Deus Trinitas' (SK 582) is also ptd *Analecta Hymnica*, 50.79; on its form, see Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* II, 241.

⁴⁶ See *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, lines 781–5 (p. 66). Alcuin also included a copy of Bede's poem in the 'handbook' which he sent to Bishop Arno of Salzburg; cf. Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* II, 240. On the manuscripts of this 'handbook', see briefly (with further references) M. Lapidge, 'Theodore and Anglo-Latin Octosyllabic Verse', in his *Anglo-Latin Literature. 600–899*, pp. 225–254, at 242; and see now M. Gretsch and H. Gneuss, 'Anglo-Saxon Glosses to a Theodorean Poem?', in *Latin Learning and English Lore. Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe and A. Orchard, 2 vols. (Toronto, 2005) I, 9–45, at 14–16.

⁴⁷ See above, pp. 16–17.

⁴⁸ See above, p. 17 and n. 77.

⁴⁹ For Gregory's, Benedict's and Cuthbert's depiction in the Benedictinal, see above, p. 15.

⁵⁰ St Mary Magdalene should possibly be added to this group: apart from Æthelthryth she is the only other saint identified and distinguished by her portraiture in the 'Choir

of Virgins': see above, p. 17, and Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 150. For our purpose we may leave her out of further consideration, since no hagiography of St Mary Magdalene written by Ælfric is extant. But, given her prominence in the *Benedictional*, the question why Ælfric did not commemorate her by a *uita* would merit further attention.

⁵¹ See above p. 153, and n. 106.

⁵⁶ Cf., for example, the first benediction: 'Omnipotens unus et aeternus Deus, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus, qui beatae Æðeldryðe animum septiformis gratiae ubertate ita succensum solidauit, ut duorum coniugum thalamis asscita immunis euaderet castamque sibi piissimus sponsam perpetim adopterit, uos ab incentiua libidinum concupiscentia muniendo submoneat et sui amoris igne succendat. Amen.' 'May Almighty God, one and eternal, Father and Son and Holy Ghost, Who set alight and strengthened the conviction of St Æthelthryth with the bounty of the sevenfold grace so that, summoned to the bridal chambers of two husbands, she was able to escape scot-free and the Holy Bridegroom was able to adopt her as His chaste spouse in perpetuity, remove you from the provocative concupiscence of lust and ignite you with the fire of His love. Amen'; text and trans. from *Wulfstan: Life*, p. lxxxii.

⁵² See Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 121–4. For further indications of the influence of Bede's hymn in late-tenth-century Winchester, see below, pp. 214–15.

⁵³ Cf. 'sponso iam dedita summo' (31); 'sponsus adest Christus' (32); 'sponsa dicata Deo' (35); 'nupta Deo' (47); 'uenit sponsus' (50) etc. I quote from *HE* IV.20 [18] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 397–400) but have supplied the line numbers.

⁵⁴ Cf. 'genuit casto de germine plures' (15); 'uirgineos flores' (16).

⁵⁵ For their presumed origin, see Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, p. lxxxii. The benedictions are ptd and trans. *ibid.*, p. lxxxii; they are also ptd *CBP*, no. 1805; see also *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fols. 91r–92r.

⁶¹ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 139 and n. 189.

⁶² See Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 235–7.

⁶³ See Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, p. lxxvi; for the text and trans., see *ibid.*, pp. lxxxii–lxxxiii, and Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 87–8; the benedictions are *CBP*, no. 1088; see also *Facsimile*, introd. Prescott, fols. 98r–99r.

⁶⁴ ‘nouissimis ferme mundi temporibus’, second benediction.

⁶⁵ ‘tanti patroni interuentu’, first benediction.

⁶⁶ ‘multiplici ac pene ineffabili miraculorum copia’, second benediction.

⁶⁷ ‘ut fidei faculam identidem succenderet’, second benediction.

⁶⁸ ‘cum bonis operibus perseuerare’, second benediction; cf. also first and third benedictions.

⁵⁷ See above, pp. 153–4, and recall that the benedictions for his feast day were probably also composed in Æthelwold’s ambit.

⁵⁸ See Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 138–9.

⁶⁰ For Benedict, see above, pp. 152–3 and nn. 103 and 104; for Æthelthryth, see Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 151.

⁵⁹ See *ibid.*, pp. 151–2.

⁶⁹ See below, p. 187.

⁷⁶ ‘þæt wæs þæra gymeleast (þe on life hine cuþon) þæt hi noldon awritan his weorc and drohtnunge þam toweardum mannum ðe his mihte ne cuðon’; text and trans. Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 590–1 (ch. 1).

⁷⁷ See ‘Life’, ch. 1 (p. 590), and see the editor’s comment on Ælfric’s interpolation: Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 590–1, n. 7.

⁷⁰ See above, p. 109.

⁷¹ See above, p. 156.

- ⁷² For these traces of the historical Swithun, see, briefly, Lapidge, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, p. 437, and see now Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 3–7.
- ⁷³ ‘perparum scimus de signis mirabilibus, prodigiis ac uirtutibus quae sanctus iste in sua gessit orationibus uita’; text and trans. in Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 252–3.
- ⁷⁴ ‘quia scripta minime habentur’; text and trans. in Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 565–5 (ch.1).
- ⁷⁵ On Ælfric as the presumed author of the *Epitome*, see below, pp. 175–6.
- ⁷⁸ Note that the texts in this book reach far beyond Ælfric’s time, to the very end of the fifteenth century. All texts are provided with translations and extensive commentary. As with the Latin texts, I quote Ælfric’s text from this edition; I do so for two reasons: it subdivides the ‘Life’ into chapters, similar to the subdivisions of the Latin sources, which facilitates the structural comparison between the texts attempted here; and the edition aims to recover Ælfric’s original orthography, which, I think, is an avenue to be pursued in light of what is already known or currently being established of Ælfric’s role in the dissemination of Standard Old English: see above, pp. 161–2 and, n. 22. I am deeply grateful to Michael Lapidge for making available to me the texts relevant to this chapter well before the publication of his book.

⁸¹ See Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 235–7.

- ⁸² For the production of the *Lives of Saints* (of which Swithun’s Life forms a part) between c. 994 and c. 998, see above, pp. 157–8 and n. 4. The date of Ælfric’s composition of his ‘Life of St Swithun’ may be more narrowly defined in light of a remark in ch. 28, where he refers to miracles performed by Æthelwold and Dunstan, which would set a *terminus post quem* of 996, the year of Æthelwold’s translation and first posthumous miracles: see *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 43 (p. 66). The inception of Dunstan’s cult at Canterbury is less clearly defined, but there is evidence that it originated at about the same time: see N. Ramsay and M. Sparks, ‘The Cult of St Dunstan at Christ Church, Canterbury’, in *St Dunstan. His Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay *et al.* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 311–23, at 311.
- ⁸⁰ Ptd with trans., introduction and commentary, Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 553–73.
- ⁷⁹ Ptd with trans., introduction and commentary, Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 217–333.
- ⁸⁵ On BNF lat. 5362 and its content, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 555–7; see also, briefly, Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. cxlviii–cxlix; and see above p. 122 and n. 210.

⁸⁶ On Lantfred's style, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 224–32.

⁸⁷ For the date of the *Epitome*, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 553 and 558; for the dates given for Ælfric's Life, see n. 82 above.

⁸⁴ For an analysis of the technique of abbreviation in the *Epitome*, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 558–61. For Ælfric epitomizing Latin texts, see also Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. cl–clv; and see C. A. Jones, 'Meatim sed et rustica: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 8 (1998), 1–57, esp. at 37–41.

⁸⁷ As Michael Lapidge has observed, Lantfred began his work on an extraordinarily ambitious scale, but subsequently curtailed his ambition: *Cult*, p. 226 and n. 69.

⁸⁸ For an exploration of this possibility, see below, pp. 189–90.

⁸⁹ For this structural principle in Lantfred, see above, pp. 180–1.

⁹⁰ See above, pp. 124–5.

⁹¹ 'ge on gehæftum mannum, ge on unhalum mannum' (ch. 27); cf. Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 606, n. 64, and Lantfred, ch. 39: 'medetur languentum doloribus, uerum etiam compeditos soluit multos'.

⁹² See Lantfred, chs. 6, 20, 24, 25, 27, 34, 38 and 39.

⁹³ See Ælfric, chs. 12 and 25.

⁹⁷ Cf. Lantfred, ch. 24.

⁹⁹ 'God's miraculous power effected in the man through Swithun's intercession', ch. 18.

¹⁰⁰ The story is also found in the *Miracula S. Swithuni* (dating from c. 1100): a further indication that it did not originate with Ælfric; for the episode, see Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 601, n. 49, and *Miracula S. Swithuni*, *ibid.*, ch. 41 (p. 676); for the date of the *Miracula*, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 641–2.

⁹⁴ 'for a very trivial crime', ch. 12.

⁹⁵ 'for some negligence', ch. 25.

⁹⁶ 'for his serious crime', ch. 26.

⁹⁸ See Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 600, n. 44.

⁰¹ See above, p. 142.

¹⁰² See Lantfred, ch. 1 and Ælfric, chs. 2–6.

¹⁰³ 'to sumum godum menn', Ælfric, ch. 17; 'cuidam uenerabili matronae', Lantfred, ch. 10; and cf. Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 599, n. 38.

¹⁰⁴ See Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 560–1, and 570, n. 22.

¹⁰⁶ See Lantfred, ch. 3, and Ælfric, ch. 8.

¹⁰⁷ 'the illusions of devilish demons', *Epitome*, ch. 8.

¹⁰⁸ 'afflicted by a very severe disease', Ælfric, ch. 8.

¹⁰⁵ See Lantfred, ch. 2, and Ælfric, ch. 7.

¹¹³ See Ælfric, ch. 23 and Lantfred, ch. 35.

¹⁰⁹ See above, p. 187.

¹¹¹ See Lantfred, ch. 35 and Wulfstan II.18.

¹¹² For this repudiation of the hermeneutic style, see, for example, the Latin Preface to *CH* II, ed. Godden, p. 1, where Ælfric stresses that he has composed his homilies 'non garrula uerbositate aut ignotis sermonibus'. For Æthelwold as a proponent of the hermeneutic style, see Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', pp. 189–94, and, briefly, Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, p. xci. Given the probable date of Ælfric's *Life* (after 996, see above, p. 175, n. 82), it is almost certain that Ælfric had also read Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica*, which was composed before 994 and revised in 996; for the date, see Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 336, and the notes to the following lines of Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*: 213, 221–2, 289–96.

¹¹⁰ For brief reference to its contents, see above, p. 185.

¹¹⁷ For Ælfric's loss of control over the *Lives of Saints*, see above, pp. 161–2.

¹¹⁸ Cf., for example, the story of St Peter and Simon Magus in *CH* I, ed. Clemoes, no. xxvi.

¹¹⁴ See Needham, *Lives of Three English Saints*, p. 81, and Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 609, n. 70. The text is ptd *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 470–1 (lines 464–95), but not by Lapidge, *Cult*, since its relation to the 'Life of Swithun' is not clear.

¹¹⁹ Such as Benedict's sexual temptation by a black bird: *Dialogues*, ed. de Vogüé II, 2.1 (p. 136); or his encounter with the devil himself: *Dialogues* II, 9 (p. 170).

¹¹⁵ See the discussion by Pope, *Homilies* II, 786–9.

¹²⁰ See Ælfric, chs. 8, 15 and 17.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 790–8.

¹²¹ Text and translation are taken from Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 606–7 (ch. 28).

¹²² On Æthelwold reforming the Winchester minsters subsequent to his consecration as bishop in 963, see briefly (with further references) Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. xlv–xlvi.

- ¹²³ For the acquisition of the relics of St Iudoc by the New Minster, probably in 901, see Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, pp. 17–18. For the cult of St Iudoc in Anglo-Saxon England, see M. Lapidge, 'A Metrical Vita S. Iudoci from Tenth-Century Winchester', *The Journal of Medieval Latin* 10 (2000), 255–306, at 261–4.

¹²⁴ See, for example, chs. 1 and 23.

- ¹²⁵ For an assessment of Edgar's reign and the role of the 970s in this reign, see Keynes, 'England, 900–1016', pp. 479–82. Interestingly, by his remark on eight British kings paying homage to Edgar, in the passage quoted above, Ælfric is one of our three principal witnesses to the ceremonies which took place at Edgar's coronation (the other two being the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Chronicle of John of Worcester).

¹²⁶ See *Pastoral Care*, ed. Sweet I, 3.

- ¹²⁷ See *The Old English Version of the Heptateuch*, ed. Crawford, pp. 416–17.

- ¹²⁸ 'the miracles which God performs through them' (ch. 28), i.e. Dunstan, Æthelwold and, by implication, Swithun.

- ¹²⁹ It is interesting to note that, in contrast to Ælfric's wider perspective on the saint, Wulfstan (whose *Narratio metrica* Ælfric almost certainly will have known) chose to 'Winchesterize' Swithun by adding some local detail to Lantfred's text; for these additions, see Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 342. It is further interesting to note that Wulfstan, too, has a nostalgic reference to Edgar's reign: this is cast as a defence of the king's draconic law of mutilation as a punishment for theft and robbery. Whereas Lantfred merely mentions a 'law of great severity' ('horribili poena talis lex', ch. 26, p. 310), Wulfstan, by way of excuse, elaborates on the beneficial effects of this law, culminating in the statement that, protected by this law, a mother and her children could traverse England unharmed from one coast to the other (*Narratio metrica* II.ix, lines 440–65). For literature on possible traces of such a law of Edgar in the surviving codes, see Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 311–12, n. 240. Ælfric remains completely silent on the atrocity of the legal procedure in question.

¹³⁰ *HE* IV.19[17] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 394–5).

- ¹³¹ 'She is held in great veneration until the present day': *HE* IV.19[17] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 396–7).
- ¹³² See *HE* IV.20[18] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 396–401); the quotations are at pp. 396–7.

- ¹³³ See *HE* III.8 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 236–41), and IV.22[20] (p. 404).
- ¹³⁴ For this source of information on Seaxburh and Eormenhild, the so-called ‘Kentish Royal Legend’, see below, pp. 207–8.
- ¹³⁵ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake II.52 (p. 120). On the refoundation of Ely Abbey, see below, pp. 198–203.
- ¹³⁷ For the period in question, see Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey, 672–1109’, pp. 14–18; see also Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 181–5.
- ¹³⁸ For Bede’s report on Hild and Whitby, see *HE* IV.23[21]–24[22] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 404–21); for Bede on Hildelith, see *HE* IV.10 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 362–5). For Aldhelm’s dedication of the prose *De uirginitate*, see *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. Ehwald, p. 228. That Hildelith was one of Boniface’s correspondents also testifies to her intellectual calibre: cf. *Briefe des heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus*, ed. Tangl, Ep. 10, pp. 7–15 (the reference to Hildelith at p. 8).
- ¹³⁶ There is a recent masterly survey of the history of Ely Abbey prior to its elevation to a bishopric in 1109: Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey, 672–1109’. For the source material, see *ibid.*, pp. 3–10; the quotation is at p. 3. The most important of these sources is the *Liber Eliensis*, the house chronicle, probably compiled at Ely in the third quarter of the twelfth century, and basing itself on a great variety of vernacular and Latin material generated at Ely during the late tenth and eleventh centuries, now lost. The *Liber Eliensis* is edited by E. O. Blake; for its sources, structure, date and purpose, see, comprehensively, Blake’s Introduction, pp. xxiii–lx, and see D. Whitelock, ‘Foreword’ to the same edition, pp. ix–xviii. The standard book-length study on Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman Ely is still E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951). For an informative first introduction, see Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey’, in *Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, ed. Lapidge *et al.*, pp. 166–7.
- ¹⁴¹ Later in the twelfth century the *Libellus* was incorporated in the *Liber Eliensis*: see Blake’s ed. II.1–49 (pp. 72–117), and Appendix A, pp. 395–9; see also *ibid.*, pp. ix, xxxiv and li–liii. An edition of the *Libellus* in its own right, based on two twelfth-century Ely manuscripts, is forthcoming: S. Keynes and A. Kennedy, *The Book of Bishop Æthelwold (‘Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi’) on the Refoundation and Endowment of Ely Abbey in the 970s*; for now, see Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey’, p. 7 and n. 24, and Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 26 (B245). For the lawsuits in the *Libellus*, see P. Wormald, ‘A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Lawsuits’, *ASE* 17 (1998), 247–81, at 266–7 (nos. 107–32), and Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 154–7.
- ¹³⁹ The *Liber miraculorum beate uirginis*, on which see below, pp. 209–11.
- ¹⁴⁰ For the refoundation, see Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey’, pp. 18–27.

- ¹⁴⁶ Cf. Wulfstan's comment on their relationship: 'Erat . . . Ætheluuoldus a secretis Eadgari incliti regis', 'Æthelwold was an intimate of the distinguished king Edgar', *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 25 (pp. 42–3).
- ¹⁴⁷ The point is stressed by Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 189–90 and 196, but cf., with a note of caution against overstating this component, Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 21 and n. 87.
- ¹⁴⁸ For the 'monastic empire' and the possibility of Æthelwold's interest in it, see above, pp. 41–2. For the term and the importance of this group of monastic houses on the territory of the Middle Angles, especially with regard to the church councils held at Clofesho, see Keynes, 'Clofesho', pp. 30–48.
- ¹⁴² On the (re-)foundations of these houses, see *Wulfstan: Life*, chs. 23–4, and the notes to these chapters: p. 39, nn. 5 and 6; p. 40, n. 6; and p. 41, n. 8. On the (re-)foundations of other houses, see *ibid.*, ch. 27 and p. 43, n. 6; and see the survey by Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 48–52.
- ¹⁴³ 'in ipso tempore erat destitutus et regali fisco deditus', *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 23 (pp. 38–9).
- ¹⁴⁴ See Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 17–18.
- ¹⁴⁵ See *ibid.*, p. 17.
- ¹⁵¹ See *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, ch. 2 (p. 2) and *EEM*, ed. Whitelock, p. 150.
- ¹⁵² On double houses (where monks and nuns lived in one monastery, though in separate accommodations, usually under the rule of an abbess), see briefly (and with useful bibliography) Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 51 and 191, n. 5. On the demise of this type of monastic institution, see Foot, *Veiled Women* I, 62–71; see *ibid.*, pp. 49–56, for English double houses in the pre-Viking age. See also the important article by D. B. Baltrusch-Schneider, 'Die angelsächsischen Doppelklöster', in *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter*, ed. K. Elm and M. Parisse (Berlin, 1992), pp. 57–79.

¹⁴⁹ The bishops in question were Thurstan (of Danish origin) and Sigewold (of Greek origin): see *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, pp. 396–7 and II.2 (p. 73). Unfortunately, from English sources nothing further is known about these bishops: see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 19–20 and n. 81. For the suggestion that the English name Sigewold may be a translation of the Greek name Nikephoros, and that this Nikephoros may have been a former bishop of Herakleia, see M. Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England in the Early Middle Ages', in *Roma fra oriente e occidente*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 49 (2002), pp. 363–400, at 386–99.

¹⁵⁰ See above, pp. 169–70.

¹⁵³ For the tenth-century nunneries (mainly situated in Wessex), see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 20, and Foot, *Veiled Women* I, 85–96. Significantly, vol. I of Foot's book bears the subtitle: *The Disappearance of Nuns from Anglo-Saxon England*. For the marginal role which nuns' houses played in the late tenth century, in spite of the reformers' avowed interest in regulating life in nunneries, see also Cubitt, 'Virginity and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', pp. 9–10. Unfortunately, we do not have six manuscripts 'which preserve translations or adaptations' of the *Regularis concordia*, as is stated there (p. 28, n. 65), but only two. We are fortunate, however, in that – contrary to what is also stated there (p. 28, n. 66; cf. p. 30, n. 113) – BL, Cotton Faustina A. x bears considerably more than 'signs of adaptation to female needs': this manuscript preserves, *inter alia*, a whole chapter which is not translated from the *RSB* but from a different source, so as to suit the specific needs of nuns' houses. Although it contains a 'male' version, the manuscript is bristling with readings that testify to its derivation from a 'female' exemplar. And there is evidence for 'female' redactions also in the surviving manuscripts of the Latin Rule. I may mention in passing that – in spite of the clear evidence for the wide circulation of a 'female' redaction in Latin and Old English – I never said that the original of Æthelwold's translation was a version for nuns' houses, as is maintained by R. Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *ASE* 32 (2003), 147–87, at 149.

¹⁵⁸ *Ptd Martyrologium*, ed. Kotzor II, 127–9, with commentary at 322–3.

¹⁵⁴ See *Old English Version*, ed. Miller I.2, 316–24.

¹⁵⁵ For this tendency, see above, pp. 33–4.

¹⁵⁶ For the calculation by which the chronicler arrived at the date 673 for the foundation of Ely (instead of 672), see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 15, n. 65.

¹⁵⁷ For the possibility that the early stages of the dissemination of the Old English Martyrology (and, conceivably, the origin of the text itself) are connected with King Alfred's court, see *Das altenglische Martyrologium*, ed. Kotzor I, 402*–3*; and for the linguistic analysis on which this hypothesis is based, *ibid.*, 323*–400*. An Alfredian connection for the Old English Martyrology has been mooted most recently by C. Rauer, 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', *ASE* 32 (2003), 89–109, esp. at 98–9.

¹⁶² Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 24.

¹⁶³ *ASC*, MS F, s. a. 799: *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Collaborative Edition VIII: MS F*, ed. P. S. Baker (Cambridge, 2000), p. 58.

¹⁶⁴ See *Vita S. Wihthurge*, ed. Love, *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ch. 2 (pp. 56–7) and ch. 7 (p. 64).

¹⁶⁵ See *ibid.*, chs. 10–14 (pp. 68–75), and *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake II.53 (pp. 120–3).

¹⁵⁹ On Byrhtnoth's abbacy, see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 23–8.

¹⁶⁰ See above, p. 197.

¹⁶¹ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake II.52 (p. 120) and II.144–6 (pp. 229–31); and see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 24.

¹⁶⁶ See above, p. 201.

¹⁶⁷ For doubts about Wihthurb's identity as claimed by the Ely tradition, see also Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 24–5 and n. 110. Such doubts were already voiced by the twelfth century, as can be gleaned from the twelfth-century redaction of Goscelin's *uita* of Wihthurb: see *Female Saints*, ed. Love, p. xc and prologue to the later redaction, pp. 84–5.

¹⁶⁸ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake II.6 (p. 79), and Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 25.

¹⁶⁹ For a survey of the Anglo-Saxon and post-Conquest commemoration of the Ely saints in mass books and calendars, see *Female Saints*, ed. Love, pp. xxiii–xxvi and xxxii–xl.

¹⁷⁰ See *Regularis Concordia*, ed. Symons, ch. 10 (p. 10).

- ¹⁷¹ On Æthelwold's aversion to the institution of the *Eigenkloster* and the *saecularium prioratu* in general, see Gretsch, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English', pp. 134–8. For the suggestion that Bede already may not have approved of the succession of Ely's first three abbesses, see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 13.

¹⁷² See below, pp. 227 and 231, n. 270.

- ¹⁷³ The *uitae* that are included in the *Liber Eliensis* are printed in the edition by Blake. Most of the other Latin hagiographical texts are now available in the excellent edition and translation by Rosalind C. Love, *Female Saints*. For a survey of the texts in question, see also Lapidge and Love, 'The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales', pp. 246–7. On the texts and the political circumstances in which they were generated, see also S. J. Ridyard, 'Condigna Veneratio: post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987), 179–206, at 180–7, and Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 196–210.

- ¹⁷⁴ On this translation, see *Liber Eliensis* ed. Blake II.144–7 (pp. 228–33), and, for a brief survey of the proceedings, Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 53–4.

- ¹⁷⁵ On Abbot Simeon's far-sighted and significant activities at Ely, and the way Goscelin's stay at Ely squares with these activities, see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 48–51. On Goscelin's sojourn at Ely, see Love, *Female Saints*, pp. xix–xx.

¹⁷⁷ See Love, *Female Saints*, pp. xcix–cxiii; ptd at pp. 204–17.

- ¹⁷⁶ See Love, *Female Saints*, pp. xcv–xcix; the version in Corpus 393 is ptd and trans. *ibid.*, pp. 54–83 (with variants from the Trinity manuscript and from the portions of the text preserved in the *Liber Eliensis*).

- ¹⁸⁵ The tract is ptd Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, pp. 9–20; see also Liebermann's discussion, *ibid.*, pp. x–xiv.

- ¹⁷⁸ Seaxburh (BHL 7694), ptd and trans. Love, *Female Saints*, pp. 2–9; Eormenhild (BHL 2611), ptd and trans. *ibid.*, pp. 12–23.

¹⁷⁹ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake I.36 (p. 51).

- ¹⁸⁰ Ptd and trans. Love, *Female Saints*, pp. 134–89; and see *ibid.*, pp. lxxxi–lxxxvi.

- ¹⁸¹ Cf. Love, *Female Saints*, p. 138 (prol.)
- ¹⁸² See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake, ed. Blake I.35 (p. 51).
- ¹⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 51, n. 4; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 58; Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 4 and n. 9, and Love, *Female Saints*, pp. lxxxiv and cv. Cf., however, the cautionary note by Love (p. lxxxiv) that such remarks on a hagiographical source are also hagiographical commonplace.
- ¹⁸⁴ The text is ptd by Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, pp. 1–9; see also Liebermann's discussion, *ibid.* pp. vii–ix; and see further, *Liber Vitae of the New Minster*, ed. Keynes, pp. 99–101, D. W. Rollason, *The Mildrith Legend. A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), p. 28, and Love, *Female Saints*, pp. xxvi–xxxii.
- ¹⁸⁶ London, Lambeth Palace 427, fols. 210 and 211 (note that the two folios were originally not adjacent: see Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 281 (p. 343)). The folios are ptd by T. O. Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England*, 3 vols. RS (1864–6) III, 422–32, and by M. J. Swanton, 'A Fragmentary Life of St Mildred and Other Kentish Royal Saints', *Archaeologia Cantiana* 91 (1975), 15–27. For a recent discussion (with further literature), see Love, *Female Saints*, pp. xxx–xxxii and cv–cvi.
- ¹⁹⁰ See Love, *Female Saints*, pp. lx and lxviii.
- ¹⁹¹ For a selection of such accretions to Bede's narrative as found in the *uita* included in the *Liber Eliensis*, see Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 12–13.
- ¹⁹² Gregory's Life is ptd, and comprehensively introduced and annotated, by P. A. Thompson and E. Stevens, 'Gregory of Ely's Verse Life and Miracles of St Æthelthryth', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106 (1988), 333–90.
- ⁸⁹ The recensions in the Corpus and Trinity manuscripts are ptd by Love, *Female Saints*, pp. 191–203.
- ¹⁸⁷ See discussion in Love, *Female Saints*, pp. lix–lxxi.
- ¹⁸⁸ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake I.1–32 (pp. 10–48).
- ¹⁹⁷ The *Miracula* are ptd and trans. Love, *Female Saints*, pp. 96–131.

¹⁹³ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake I. prol. (p. 6) and I.33 (p. 48).

¹⁹⁴ See *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake I.49 (p. 61) and I.42 (p. 57); and cf. the discussion by Blake, *ibid.* pp. xxxii–xxxiii, Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey’, pp. 4, 8 and 16–17, and Love, *Female Saints*, pp. lix–lxviii.

¹⁹⁵ *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Blake I.43–9 (pp. 57–61).

¹⁹⁶ This version also occurs in two twelfth-century legendaries: Lincoln, Cathedral Library, 149 and London, Gray’s Inn, 3.

¹⁹⁸ This is the version found in the *Liber Eliensis* (I.43–9 (pp. 57–61)). For a more elaborate synopsis of this version, see Keynes, ‘Ely Abbey’, pp. 16–17.

¹⁹⁹ See below, pp. 228–9.

²⁰⁰ For a selection of recent criticism on Æthelthryth, see S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, 1992) pp. 65–74; G. Griffith, ‘Reading Ælfric’s Saint Æthelthryth as a Woman’, *Parergon* ns 10.2 (1992), 35–49; R. Waterhouse, ‘Discourse and Hypersignification in Two of Ælfric’s Saints’ Lives’, in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 333–52; S. Rosser, ‘Æthelthryth: a Conventional Saint?’, *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 79 (1997), 15–24; M. Otter, ‘The Temptation of St Æthelthryth’, *Exemplaria* 9 (1997), 139–63; P. Pulsiano, ‘Blessed Bodies: the Vitae of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints’, *Parergon* ns 16.2 (1999), 1–42; V. Blanton-Whetsell, ‘*Tota integra, tota incorrupta*: the Shrine of St Æthelthryth as a Symbol of Monastic Identity’, *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32 (2002), 227–67; Blanton-Whetsell, ‘*Imagines Ætheldredae*: Mapping Hagiographic Representations of Abbatial Power and Religious Patronage’, *Studies in Iconography* 23 (2002), 55–107; C. E. Karkov, ‘The Body of St Æthelthryth: Desire, Conversion and Reform in Anglo-Saxon England’, in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe. A.D. 300–1300*, ed. M. Carver (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 397–411; on Ælfric’s female saints in general, S. Horner, ‘The Violence of Exegesis: Reading the Bodies of Ælfric’s Female Saints’, in *Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. A. Roberts (Gainesville, FL, 1998), pp. 22–43; cf. also the brief remarks on Æthelthryth in C. A. Lees and G. R. Overing, *Double Agents. Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2001), *passim* (see Index).

²⁰¹ In Skeat’s edition: p. 440.120–35; for these lines, see below, pp. 218–9.

²⁰² The source passages for Ælfric’s Life are helpfully listed by Peter Jackson on the website of *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* <<http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk>>

²⁰³ HE IV.20[18]; see above, pp. 168–9.

²⁰⁴ For his hymn Bede drew on the poem *De uirginitate* by Venantius Fortunatus (ed. and trans. M. Reydellet, *Venance Fortunat, Poèmes* II (Paris, 1998), pp. 129–46, esp. at 131; the poem had been previously ptd by F. Leo, *Venantius Fortunatus, Opera Poetica* 8.3, MGH, AA 4.1 (1881), pp. 181–91). This source had already been identified by Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica* II, 241–2; an identification which is not acknowledged by Fell, ‘Saint Æthelthryth: a Historical-Hagiographical Dichotomy Revisited’, pp. 21 and 25–6.

²⁰⁵ On the chronological relations between Bede’s metrical and prose Lives and the anonymous Life, see above, pp. 67–9.

²⁰⁸ ‘regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis’, *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 31 (pp. 48–9).

²⁰⁹ For a discussion of the poems, of Bede’s influence on them, and of Wulfstan’s authorship, see M. Lapidge, in P. Dronke, M. Lapidge and P. Stotz, ‘Die unveröffentlichten Gedichte der Cambridger Liederhandschrift (CUL Gg. 5. 35)’, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 17 (1982), 54–95, at 59–65; Lapidge, in *Wulfstan: Life*, pp. xxiv and xxvii–xxx; and Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 783–92. The verdict on Wulfstan’s metrical excellence is in *Cult*, p. 364. (The quality of Wulfstan’s verse was already favourably commented on by John Leland in his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis*: see *Cult*, p. 341.)

²⁰⁶ For Bede’s hymn as part of an *opus geminatum* (and for Venantius as Bede’s source), see Wallace-Hadrill, *HE, Commentary*, p. 161.

²⁰⁷ See above, p. 176.

²¹⁰ The hymn in question is ‘Aurea lux patriae’ (SK 1443, but cf. Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 783, n. 10) in the redaction preserved in London, BL, Royal 15 C. VII, ptd Lapidge, *Cult*, pp. 783–7. On the liturgical use of this hymn for the three feast days of St Swithun, see *ibid.*, p. 784; *Wulfstan: Life*, p. xxviii; and Gneuss, *Hymnar und Hymnen*, pp. 117–18.

²¹¹ It comprises 135 lines in Skeat’s edition, of which the final fifteen lines are drawn from a different source, see below, p. 218.

²¹² Bede’s ch. 19[17] amounts to 135 lines in the edition by Colgrave and Mynors.

²¹⁶ For 'cohesion' and 'coherence' as established terms in linguistics, see e.g. G. Brown and G. Yule, *Discourse Analysis* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 190–222. Briefly, 'cohesion' refers to the linking of sentences and passages by linguistic means, whereas 'coherence' refers to their linking also by extra-linguistic means such as sense, tacitly made assumptions, presumed general knowledge and experience ('Weltwissen') etc.

²¹⁴ The terms I use in this section are principally derived from a classic study of structuralist narrative theory by Gérard Genette: *Narrative Discourse: an Essay in Method*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY, 1980; orig. publ. as 'Discours du récit: essai de méthode', in G. Genette, *Figures* III (Paris, 1972), pp. 67–267); see esp. pp. 48–67 ('Analepses'), 67–79 ('Prolepses') and 189–211 ('Focalization'). See also Genette's subsequent work, *Narrative Discourse Revisited*, trans. J. E. Lewin (Ithaca, NY, 1988; orig. publ. as *Nouveau discours du récit* (Paris, 1983)). There is an interesting recent application of structuralist, and especially Genette's, analytical methods on the narrative technique in *Beowulf*: M. Lapidge, 'Beowulf and Perception', Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 111 (2001), 61–97.

²¹⁵ In the following section I refer to Bede's account by page number and lines in the edition by Colgrave and Mynors. Unfortunately, no line numbers are provided in this edition.

²¹³ See above, pp. 52 and 104.

²¹⁸ For the interest taken at the Winchester school in matters of style, structure and narrative mode, see also above, pp. 126–7 and 186.

²¹⁷ The only focalized passage which Ælfric retains, if reallocated in chronological order, is Æthelthryth's direct speech, in which she accepts her neck tumour as an atonement for her follies as a young girl (ed. Skeat, p. 434.54–436.60).

²¹⁹ For the source, see P. Jackson's identification at the Fontes website, and see Jackson, 'Ælfric and the Purpose of Christian Marriage', pp. 238–40.

²²⁰ See Jackson, 'Ælfric and Christian Marriage'; for previous interpretations, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 237–8 and 256–7 and n. 78.

²²¹ See Jackson, 'Ælfric and Christian Marriage', pp. 238, 257 and 260.

²²² *Ibid.*, pp. 238 and 260.

²²³ For a brief representation of Augustine's views and their endorsement by Ælfric, see Jackson, 'Ælfric and Christian Marriage', pp. 247–51. For the ambivalence of some patristic authors (Augustine among them) on the preferability of virginity to marriage for the laity, see, briefly, Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 53–4.

²²⁴ There is an excellent article exploring the historical and intellectual background to Æthelthryth's unusual biography: P. Thompson, 'St Æthelthryth: the Making of History from Hagiography', in *Studies in English Language and Literature. 'Doubt Wisely': Papers in Honour of E. G. Stanley*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler (London, 1996), pp. 475–92.

²²⁵ Ed. Skeat, p. 432.9–12. 'But God Almighty would not admit that her virginity was destroyed by sexual intercourse, but He preserved her in chastity because He is God Almighty and can do whatever He wants to do, and He reveals His power in various ways.'

²²⁶ Ed. Skeat, p. 432.18. 'She loved Jesus Christ, who kept her undefiled'.

²²⁷ Cf. p. 432.4 and 432.16–17.

²²⁸ Cf. pp. 432.24–434.30.

²²⁹ Cf. p. 438.107–8. ²³⁰ 'ubi uix aliquando impetrauit', p. 392.12.

²³¹ Ed. Skeat, p. 434.34–5. 'Then the king permitted her, though after a long time, to do what she wanted'.

²³² Ed. Skeat, p. 440.132–4. 'How often husbands and wives led remarkable lives and lived in chastity to the glory of Jesus Christ, who established chastity as a model'. In the context of the episode I take 'weras and wif' to refer to married couples.

²³³ 'He was won over by her prayers, and she by the love of God! / Afire, both of them, with inward flames of the holy Faith, / in chastity they remained together as husband and wife.' *Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, lines 761–3 (p. 64); trans. *ibid.*, p. 65.

²³⁶ See *CH* II, ed. Godden, no. xxii, and *HE* V.12 (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 488–99).

- ²³⁴ Only one continental manuscript of the poem, dated to the twelfth century, has survived; and there is no reliable evidence that the poem ever reached England: cf. Godman, *Bishops Kings and Saints of York*, pp. xliv–xlv and cxx–cxxix (who is not entirely pessimistic on this point).
- ²³⁵ For a brief survey of the cases in question, see Lapidge, ‘A Seventh-Century Insular Debate Poem on Divorce’, pp. 15–17, and Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 54. Not mentioned by Bede, but referred to by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s. a. 718), is the separation of Cuthburh, a West Saxon princess, and King Aldfrith of Northumbria. Cuthburh may have been one of the Barking dedicatees of Aldhelm’s prose *De uirginitate*: see Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 52, and R. Rushforth, ‘The Medieval Hagiography of St Cuthburg’, *Analecta Bollandiana* 118 (2000), 291–324, at 291–4.
- ²³⁷ On Cuthburh, see above, n. 235. The dedication of the prose *De uirginitate* to the nuns of Barking and the identification of Cuthburh as one of these nuns has recently been rejected: see S. Gwara, *Aldhelmi Malmesbirensis prosa de uirginitate*, CCSL 124 (Turnhout, 2001), pp. 47–55. Gwara’s hypothesis that the ten addressees named in Aldhelm’s dedicatory letter were all abbesses of West Saxon double monasteries is, however, not substantiated by historical evidence.
- ²³⁹ For this innovatory feature, see Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, p. 56; the quotation is *ibid.*
- ²³⁸ On the tripartite division and Aldhelm’s characteristic change, see Lapidge, in *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, trans. Lapidge and Herren, pp. 55–6; and see prose *De uirginitate*, ed. Ehwald, *Aldhelmi opera*, ch. xix (pp. 248–9); trans. *Aldhelm: Prose Works*, pp. 75–6.

²⁴⁰ See above, pp. 9–10.

- ²⁴¹ For a brief synopsis of Theodore’s legislation, quoting the relevant passages from his *Iudicia*, see Lapidge, ‘Debate Poem’, pp. 17–18; the passages quoted there are ptd by P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar, 1929), pp. 327–8. In the second of their two books, the *Iudicia* present a collection of canon law; unfortunately, the *Iudicia* are transmitted only in third-hand (and even remoter) redactions. For a brief introduction to this work, see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, pp. 150–5, and, more comprehensively, T. Charles-Edwards, ‘The Penitential of Theodore and the *Iudicia Theodori*’, in *Archbishop Theodore*, ed. Lapidge, pp. 141–74.
- ²⁴³ The collection in question is the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis*; it is one of the sources of Archbishop Wulfstan’s canon law collection (see below, n. 244). For the dependence of the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* on the *Iudicia*, see Lapidge, in *Biblical Commentaries*, p. 154.

²⁴⁴ The former 'Excerptiones' have recently been ptd in a new edition: *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. Cross and Hamer. On the text, see also Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, pp. 216–19 and 455–6. For the view that Wulfstan's canons draw on Ælfric, see Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, pp. 17–22, and Wormald, *Making of English Law*, p. 218 and n. 215. For the suggestion that Ælfric himself was one of the authors of Wulfstan's canon law collection, see M. R. Godden, 'Anglo-Saxons on the Mind', in *Learning and Literature*, ed. Lapidge and Gneuss, pp. 271–98, at 283. For the older view that Ælfric drew on the 'Excerptiones' / Wulfstan's canon law collection, see e.g. the edition by Fehr, *Ælfric's Hirtenbriefe*, pp. xcvi–cx. For the *Collectio canonum Hibernensis* as one of the sources for Wulfstan's canons, see Cross and Hamer, *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, pp. 33–4.

²⁴² See above, p. 40.

²⁴⁵ See *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*, ed. Cross and Hamer, A 93 (p. 105) and B 129 (p. 147).

²⁴⁶ *LS II*, ed. Skeat, p. 422.387–9. 'Canons, however, make it clear and prescribe that no wife must leave her husband, not even for reasons of piety, unless they both consent to this'. For Ælfric's source for the *passio*, see Jackson, 'Ælfric and Christian Marriage', pp. 244–5, n. 33.

²⁴⁷ *CH II*, ed. Godden, p. 185.166–9. 'Separation is allowed to those who love exalted chastity more than sad wantonness. Alternatively, they may keep this desire secret, remain married, and abstain from sexual intercourse, if God directs them to such a life'. Cf. Godden, *CH, Commentary*, p. 525, who remarks that no source or relevant parallels could be found for this passage.

²⁴⁸ Ed. Skeat, p. 438.109–12; 'and God's power is manifest in her: that He can raise the decayed bodies (from their graves), He who kept her undecayed in her grave up to the present day'.

²⁴⁹ *LS II*, ed. Skeat, p. 328.186–8. 'His body which rests undecayed reveals to us that he lived here in this world without sexual intercourse and went to Christ after a chaste life.'

²⁵⁰ *LS II*, ed. Skeat, p. 332.250–4. 'In this saint is manifest, and in others like him, that God Almighty may resurrect humankind integrally from the earth; He who preserves Edmund's body undecayed until the great day, though it was made of earth.'

²⁵¹ In the *Fontes* entry for Ælfric's Passion of St Edmund (compiled by R. Jayatilaka) no source is identified for lines 250–4.

²⁵² 'Sed de hoc sancto martyre estimari licet cuius sit sanctitatis in hac uita, cuius caro mortua prefert quoddam resurrectionis decus sine sui labe aliqua, quandoquidem eos qui huiuscemodi munere donati sunt extollant catholici patres suae relationis indiculo de singulari uirginitatis adepto priuilegio', *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. M. Winterbottom (Toronto, 1972), pp. 86–7 (17.1–6). 'But concerning this holy martyr, we may estimate how great was his holiness in this life, whose dead body, without any trace of decay, reveals something of the glory of the resurrection, since indeed the Catholic fathers extol those who are granted such a favour in their books concerning the attainment of the exceptional privilege granted to virginity.' The translation of the last part of the sentence ('in their books . . . virginity') is provided, with a question mark, by Winterbottom, p. 86.

²⁵³ See above, pp. 203–5.

²⁵⁴ *LS II*, ed. Skeat, p. 332.259–63. 'The English are not deprived of the Lord's saints, while saints rest in England such as this holy king (Edmund) and the blessed Cuthbert and St Æthelthryth at Ely and also her sister, with undecayed bodies for the strengthening of the faith'.

²⁵⁵ See above, pp. 196–7.

²⁵⁸ Ed. Skeat, p. 436.72. Note that Bede referred to her as 'Sexburg, quam habuerat in coniugem Earconberct rex Cantuarium': 'Seaxburh who had been the wife of Eorcenberht, king of Kent', *HE IV.19*[17] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 392–3). Was the Kentish kingdom no longer recollected by Ælfric and his contemporaries as a once existing political entity when he reduced it to 'Canterbury'?

²⁵⁹ See above, pp. 216–17.

²⁵⁶ For the possibility of a different identification, see below, p. 231, n. 270.

²⁵⁷ For Æthelwold prioritizing the cult of Æthelthryth, see above, p. 205.

²⁶¹ See above, pp. 210–11.

²⁶² For the miracles in the *Liber miraculorum*, see above, p. 210; for Swithun's miracles, see above, pp. 176–92.

²⁶⁰ Ed. Skeat, p. 436.77. Note that Wulfstan in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* does insert a brief topographical description of the surroundings of Ely, see *Wulfstan: Life*, ch. 23 (pp. 38–9).

²⁶³ Ed. Skeat, p. 432.4; ‘as the miracles reveal which she often performs’.

²⁶⁴ Ed. Skeat, p. 432.16–17; ‘as manifest miracles often make known her glorious deeds and her virginity’.

²⁶⁵ See *HE* IV.19[17] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 396).

²⁶⁶ *HE* IV.20[18] (ed. Colgrave and Mynors, p. 398, lines 25–6). ‘And an excellent virgin now blessed our age;/the excellent Æthelthryth also shines in our (age)’; my translation.

²⁶⁷ For Alcuin’s veneration of Æthelthryth, see above, pp. 168 and 221.

²⁶⁸ See above, pp. 194–5.

²⁶⁹ The passage is quoted above, p. 227.

²⁷⁰ Æthelthryth’s unidentified sister presents a problem: Æthelthryth’s only ‘virgin’ sister was Wihtburh, and she was probably not her sister by birth (see above, p. 204), which Ælfric may or may not have suspected. Her sister Seaxburh who, on the authority of Bede, might be taken to be the sister in question, had been married (see above, p. 196). But perhaps Ælfric had in mind no more than referring loosely to ‘Æthelthryth and her sisters’. St Swithun is not reported to have been found undecayed at his translation and hence would not qualify for the group.

² For the non-individualistic traits of saints’ Lives and the indispensability of a *uita* for a fully fledged cult, see Lapidge, ‘The Saintly Life’, pp. 253–6.

¹ See above, pp. 14–17.

⁴ See above, p. 156.

³ See the stimulating remarks in this respect by Godden, ‘Experiments in Genre’.

⁷ Ælfric comments on this point in the Preface to his Latin Grammar (in respect of the difficulty of translating Latin grammatical terminology into Old English): 'scio multimodis uerba posse interpretari, sed ego simplicem interpretationem sequor fastidii uitandi causa. Si alicui tamen displicuerit, nostram interpretationem dicat, quomodo uult: nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scola Aðeluoldi, uenerabilis praesulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuat' (*Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar*, ed. Zupitza, p. 1). 'I know that words can be rendered in many ways, but I always adopt the straightforward interpretation for the sake of avoiding tedium. If, however, this should displease someone, let him say what he wants about my translation: I am happy to translate in the way I learned at the school of Æthelwold, the venerable bishop, who taught many for their own good.' (Translation by M. Lapidge, 'Ælfric's Schooldays', in *Early Medieval English*, ed. Trehearne and Rosser, pp. 301–9, at 303.)

⁵ See above, p. 132.

⁶ For the two types of verse renderings and the Winchester preference of the literal type, see above, p. 124.

⁸ For a recent evaluation of Ælfric's oeuvre in its contemporary context which largely disregards his sources, see Cubitt, 'Viriginity and Misogyny'. For a similar disregard for sources from a linguistic angle, see M. J. Menzer, 'Ælfric's *Grammar*: Solving the Problem of the English-Language Text', *Neophilologus* 83 (1999), 640–52.

⁹ This circumspection and rigour have been commented on previously, usually in connection with Ælfric's concern for orthodoxy, which led him to reject, for example, the apocrypha of the Bible: see, e.g. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 235–6 and 244–6. For the interesting suggestion that Ælfric's use of an additional source in his second Life of St Martin was prompted by his belief in the greater authenticity of this source, see F. M. Biggs, 'Ælfric as Historian: His Use of Alcuin's *Laudationes* and Sulpicius's *Dialogues* in his Two Lives of Martin', in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 289–315.

¹⁰ For a critical view of the quest for such an ideal in much recent literature on medieval hagiography, see Geary, 'Saints, Scholars, and Society', pp. 6–8, 14 and 21.

¹¹ See above, p. 60.

¹² For an argument that the study of manuscript transmission and manuscript context of saints' Lives should be assigned a greater importance than has generally been the case in recent scholarship on hagiography, see Geary, 'Saints', pp. 11–15.

¹³ See above, p. 161 and n. 19.

¹⁷ For the manuscripts of the two series and the items they contain, see conveniently the tables in Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 512–15, and, for the second series, relevant here, see the synopsis by Godden, *CH* II, xv–xvii.

¹⁴ For Ælfric's reorganization and augmentation of his *temporale* homilies, see, in addition to the references given above (p. 161, n. 19), Clemoes, 'Chronology', pp. 227–33; for the insignificant changes that Ælfric apparently made to his *sanctorale*, see *ibid.*, pp. 233–7.

¹⁵ See above, p. 157 and n. 3.

¹⁶ Clemoes, 'Chronology', p. 235.

¹⁸ Unless otherwise stated, date and origin of the manuscripts are as in Gneuss, *Handlist*.

¹⁹ Date according to Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 23 (no. 18).

²⁰ Dating according to Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 194 (no. 154B) and R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), p. 99 (no. 384). Neither gives an explicit date for the additions, but see below, p. 243, n. 31.

²¹ For the manuscript transmission of the items in the *Lives of Saints*, see the table in Hill, 'Dissemination', pp. 246–7.

²² CUL Ii. 1. 33 (s. xii²), a collection of homilies and saints' Lives, is a composite manuscript and, according to Ker (*Catalogue*, p. 23 (no. 18)), it was 'written at several intervals'. Recently, the compilation of this manuscript has been assigned to Ely, principally on grounds of the prominent position accorded to the Life of St Æthelthryth: W. Schipper, 'A Composite Old English Homiliary from Ely: Cambr. Univ. Libr. MS Ii. 1. 33', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 8, pt 3 (1983), 285–98. However, the reasons for

the ascription to Ely are not compelling. An unknown number of leaves has been lost, so that 'notable absentees' from the *sanctorale*, such as Swithun, Cuthbert and Martin, may once have been part of the manuscript: see Clemoes, *CH I*, 25–6. The *sanctorale* of the manuscript is not in chronological order; therefore Æthelthryth occurring out of date is not, *per se*, remarkable. Furthermore, the prominent position of Æthelthryth's *uita*, near the beginning of the manuscript, had been noted by Pope, *Homilies I*, 37, Clemoes, *CH I*, 25 and (by implication) by Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 23, but none of them made the association with Ely. Cf. also the cautious view taken by S. Irvine, 'The Compilation and Use of Manuscripts Containing Old English in the Twelfth Century', in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 41–61, at 54–5; and see N. Ramsay, who lists CUL Ii. 1. 33 among manuscripts from Ely, but remarks that 'its Ely provenance [is] admittedly far from certain': 'The Library and Archives 1541–1836', in *Ely Cathedral*, ed. Meadows and Ramsay, pp. 259–79, at 263. A recent book-length study of CUL Ii. 1. 33 very tentatively suggests Ely as 'a later place of provenance' of the manuscript: O. M. Traxel, *Language Change, Writing and Textual Interference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts. The Evidence of Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33*, *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie* 32 (Frankfurt, 2004), p. 206.

²³ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 361–7 (no. 309), Clemoes, *CH I*, 7–10 and Godden, *CH II*, xxv–xxxviii.

²⁴ On CUL Ii. 1. 33, see above, n. 22.

²⁶ *CH II*, no. xviii; Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 177A, arts. 14 and 15. For a description of the manuscript, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 224–7 (no. 177A), Clemoes, *CH I*, 60–1, Godden, *CH II*, lvii–lviii, and Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 580.

²⁷ *CH I*, no. xvi and *CH II*, no. xiv. For the Gloucester fragments, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 154–5 (no. 117), Clemoes, *CH I*, 55–6, Godden, *CH II*, lvii, and Lapidge, *Cult*, p. 580.

²⁵ See Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 292–301 (no. 222), Clemoes, *CH I*, 61–3 and Godden, *CH II*, lviii–lix.

²⁹ See above, pp. 94–101.

²⁸ For the manuscript, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 76–82 (no. 48), Clemoes, *CH I*, 10–13 and Godden, *CH II*, xxviii–xxxi; for the items from the *Lives of Saints* included in Corpus 198, see also the table by Hill, 'Dissemination', pp. 246–7. Only one of the hagiographical texts from the *Lives of Saints* is represented there (Skeat, no. v, Sebastian).

³⁰ For the manuscript, see Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 391–9 (no. 331, arts. 1–36 (= Hatton 113) and arts. 37–85 (= Hatton 114). The *sanctorale* block comprises arts. 59–75; the Life of Gregory is art. 59; the ‘Prayer of Moses’ is art. 47. See also Clemoes, *CH* I, 41–5 (the *sanctorale* block is here called ‘Td’), Godden, *CH* II, li–liv and Pope, *Homilies* I, 70–7.

³¹ See Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 195 (no. 154B, art. 4), and Godden, *CH* II, lv, who notes that a fifth addition classified by Ker as deriving from Ælfric’s *uita* is not from that source. Godden, *ibid.*, dates the additions to the twelfth century; see also above, p. 239, n. 20.

³² For the textual affiliations of the extracts, see Godden, *CH* II, lv.

³⁷ ‘Ne forte despectui habeantur margarite Christi’, *LS*, ed. Skeat I, 1.

³⁸ Recall that the strengthening of the faith was an avowed rationale for some of Ælfric’s saints’ Lives: see above, p. 231. This rationale is also stressed repeatedly in the Latin Preface to the *Lives of Saints*: ed. Skeat I, 1.

³⁵ See Hill, ‘Dissemination’, p. 248, and D. G. Scragg, ‘The Corpus of Anonymous Lives and their Manuscript Context’, in *Holy Men*, ed. Szarmach, pp. 209–59, at 225.

³⁶ For these points, see above, p. 238.

³³ The brief extracts from *CH* I, no. xxxii (*Decollatio S. Iohannis Baptiste*) found in the margins of CUL II. 1. 33 alongside *CH* II, no. xxi (Drythelm) bear no obvious relation to the main text: see M. Swan, ‘Ælfric’s *Catholic Homilies* in the Twelfth Century’, in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 62–82, at 78–9. On Faustina A. x, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 76–8.

³⁴ Cf., Ker, *Catalogue*, pp. 512–15 and Hill, ‘Dissemination’, pp. 246–7. See also the lists of items and their distribution in manuscripts in Clemoes, *CH* I, xix–xxii and Godden, *CH* II, xv–xvii; and see the tables listing the manuscript transmission of Ælfric’s hagiographic pieces from the two series of *Catholic Homilies* and from the *Lives of Saints* in J. Hill, ‘The Preservation and Transmission of Ælfric’s Saints’ Lives. Reader-Reception and Reader-Response in the Early Middle Ages’, in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P. E. Szarmach and J. T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997), pp. 405–30, at 412–15.

⁴¹ Note that only one of the manuscripts in which the five Lives are preserved is definitely post-Conquest: CUL Ii. 1. 33 (s. xii²). Faustina A. x (s. xii¹), which preserves the brief extracts from the Life of Gregory, is a special case, since we have no knowledge about the date of the manuscript from which the extracts were drawn. For the apparently limited production of manuscripts containing vernacular saints' Lives, see also J. Proud, 'Old English Prose Saints' Lives in the Twelfth Century: the Evidence of the Extant Manuscripts', in *Rewriting Old English*, ed. Swan and Treharne, pp. 117–31.

³⁹ Cf. *ibid.*

⁴⁰ It has been argued that the *Lives of Saints* could have served as a legendary in monasteries: Hill, 'Dissemination', p. 248. The collection is, however, far from being a complete legendary, necessary for such purpose, and presumably the monks (if not the nuns) would be expected to read a Latin legendary. Judging by his prefaces to the collection, Ælfric clearly did not intend the *Lives of Saints* for monastic use; his target audience was unequivocally and exclusively the laity.

⁴³ This is the title of the most comprehensive documentation of the Renaissance debate: R. F. Jones, *The Triumph of the English Language. A Survey of Opinions Concerning the Vernacular from the Introduction of Printing to the Restoration* (Stanford, CA, 1953). For an introduction, see also C. Barber, *Early Modern English*, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh, 1997), ch. 2 'Attitudes to English', pp. 65–142.

⁴² For a brief introduction to the *South English Legendary*, see M. Görlach, 'Middle English Legends, 1220–1530', in *Hagiographies*, ed. Philippart I, 429–85, at 448–58; see also his comprehensive study: M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary*, Leeds Texts and Monographs 6 (Leeds, 1974).